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THE CREE REBELLION OF
1884

BATTLEFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Chapters in the North-West History prior to 1890
Related by Old Timers.



THE CREE REBELLION OF '84.

BATTLEFORD,
SASKATCHEWAN.

VOL. I. No. I.
1926.

SASKATCHEWAN HERALD PRINT

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THE CREE REBELLION OF 1884

OR

SIDELIGHTS ON INDIAN CONDITIONS

SUBSEQUENT TO 1876.

CONTENTS:

1. IN MEMORIAM.
2. INTRODUCTION Campbell Innes, M.A., Editor.
3. THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
4. THE ARCHIVES.
5. THE CREE REBELLION OF '84, as recorded by:
 1. The Saskatchewan Herald.
 2. Fine Day.
 3. Robert Jefferson.
 4. Constable John Guthrie.
 5. William McKay.
 6. Extract from Report of the Commissioner of N.W.M.P.
 7. Col. James Walker.
 8. Lieut.-Gov. Laird's Reports.
6. THE LIFE OF MAJOR CROZIER W. C. Mikel;
A Fellow Officer; C. E. Denny; A. F. Grady.

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BATTLEFORD.

JUNE, 1926.

Printed by THE SASKATCHEWAN HERALD, Battleford, Saskatchewan.

1926 - 75

In Memoriam

JOHN PRITCHARD.

Born in Red River Settlement, Oct. 9, 1840.
Died at Battleford, Sept. 13, 1925.

Buffalo-hunter; Interpreter for the Indian Department in its dealings with Big Bear; Freightier; Assisted in saving the lives of the white women at Frog Lake Massacre.

Joined the Historical Society in 1922.

ALPHONSE PRINCE.

Born at St. Gregoire, Quebec, Nov., 1856.
Died at Battleford, April 12, 1926.

Merchant in partnership with Senator Prince.
Established the first flour mill in this locality. Brought first threshing outfit over trails from Swift Current.

Joined the Historical Society in 1925.

2 INTRODUCTION 2

This Society's object is to collect from eyewitnesses their stories relating to events, and to publish these in a publication which will deal entirely with that historical event. Perhaps our citizens will learn to appreciate each pioneer's story, no matter what his position or part may be, because each pioneer may relate important historical information connected especially with the religious, political, social or economic development of our land. In saving these stories, this Society is not only honoring the pioneer but it is saving source history from which the exact truth may be deduced by the reader, who may also gain interest and pleasure from this method of presenting our North-West History.

This Society is pleased with the ready response of the Old-Timer contributors and also with the active co-operation of our citizens and institutions in making the undertaking successful.

There may be other eyewitnesses who are unknown to the Society but when the Society is informed about their parts it will make every effort to secure and record their stories.

Should the Society's headquarters be at Battleford? Does this district possess any special historical importance? I believe it does. The North Saskatchewan and Battle Rivers have been important factors in the location of the Indians. In this locality these rivers have been the boundary separating the wooded land from the prairie land. Here was the best buffalo feeding ground. Here was the great fish land. Here was the best wintering place for the Indians.

Thus the locality became the great battle grounds of the warring tribes during the 17th and early 18th centuries. All these factors produced an advanced Indian civilization.

Through this section passed the explorers for the North and North-West, such as Thompson and Henry.

The coming of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company lead to the establishment of posts and forts, and early in the nineteenth century may be gathered such names from the explorers' records as Fort Montagne d'Aigle, Fort Battle River, Manchester House, Umfraville's Post, Birmingham House and Fort George.

It was at Battleford that the first legislative buildings were erected for the North-West, and here Lieut.-Governor Laird ruled from 1878 to 1881, when the Council was nominative. A great part of his work was that of dealing with Indian affairs. Very many reserves were located around the Battle River here, as mentioned in the stories, and the head office had to meet all Indian difficulties.

In 1876 Col. James Walker established police barracks at Battleford. From this point escorts were supplied for the Indian Treaty Commissioners at Carlton, Duck Lake, Sounding Lake and Fort Pitt. Colonel Walker acted as Indian Agent for three years for one-third of the Indian population. Battleford established police detachments at Fort Pitt, Duck Lake, Carlton and Prince Albert in order to assist in managing the Indian Affairs. In 1879 the management of the Indian Affairs was turned over to the Indian Department and Indian Agents were put in charge. During the period 1876-1880, while Colonel Walker was in charge, the Battleford District was a separate command. The commandant reported direct to the Comptroller at Ottawa and received orders and supplies as well as their pay cheques from there.

Dissatisfaction with the reserve life led to serious difficulties and fears; as a result the settlers lived for a month in a condition of siege in the police barracks, until General Otter arrived here and relieved the tenseness of the situation by making an attack on the Indians at Cut Knife Hill, May, 1885. It was here that Inspector Dickens fled with the Fort

INTRODUCTION

v

Pitt Detachment and General Middleton met Poundmaker and gave him his preliminary hearing. From this centre Middleton left to capture Big Bear. When all rebellion was over, the Indian murderers of 1885 were tried and hanged here.

The locality has a special significance in religious affairs because Archdeacon J. A. Mackay, the veteran Anglican Missionary for 63 years, began that Church's work in 1878. Since that time his name has always been connected with this locality.

In educational affairs a very forward step was taken by the establishment of an Industrial School for Indians in 1883, under the principalship of Canon Clarke and later under Canon Matheson, until it was closed in 1914 to make way for a new system. At the same time its closing deprived the Indian of this locality of the opportunity of gaining that special training which has resulted in so many of our Indians being good workmen and creditable citizens.

Again, Battleford attracted many settlers because it contained the capital and the police headquarters. These settlers commenced ranching and mercantile pursuits, and they aided later in the development of other localities.

Are these not sufficient proofs of the historical significance of Battleford to warrant the establishment here of historical archives? All the more so, because connected with this locality are over two hundred citizens who can relate the history of the land in its commencement. They all played a part in so many localities of the West and in so many activities. Let us be proud to record these events prior to 1890.

THE CREE REBELLION OF '84.

The object of this publication is to describe the conditions of the Indians as they passed from the life on the plain to their settlement on the reserve, or the life of hunter to farmer, or from independence to dependence with restricted opportunities. Hunger drove them to a reserve;—hunger

there made them dissatisfied. Their dissatisfaction is shown in their attempts to balk or outwit the officials in order to gain a better bargain. Poundmaker was a leader in this agitation for better terms. It was to his reserve that the chiefs came and there Big Bear held his Thirst Dance in order to discuss the condition of affairs. I have called this publication the "Cree Rebellion of '84" because this conference was their form of Rebellion. It was the largest meeting ever held to discuss their conditions. What was to be the outcome? Likely it was to be a bluff to get more flour. Some would hold that it was a "strike", and I believe that is the proper name. REBELLION means to throw off legal authority. It cannot be proved that all Indians wished to do that. It is true, murders were committed later by Indians, but were these not acts of revenge on the part of certain Indians?

This publication describes the great Indian strike. It was a strike due to dissatisfaction of the Indian with the treaty, which sounded nice to the Indian at the time, and the Government was doing its best to face a trying problem. The Government did more than the treaty demanded but it was not enough to meet the Indians' needs. The old chief might try to make the best of it, at their time of life, but there was the army of untamed youthful Indians. What was to be their future? As Big Bear, an old chief, is reported to have said to an official, "You tell these bucks what to do; you make them do it; I cannot. I am an old man. I cannot bind them to a future."

Big Bear's conference failed because Major Crozier came to arrest an Indian, the assaulter of Craig. The band of Indians turned to outwit the police. They failed. The diplomacy and boldness of Major Crozier unnerved them. The Indian had lost in the battle of wits. An Indian likes to match you in such a game and, if he fails, then to terrify you; but he will not attack unless attacked. The Indians had used their usual tactics, but without avail. They were

more occupied with attempting to outwit Major Crozier and terrifying the police than with preventing an arrest. That did not mean anything to them. That was the bad Indian's affair.

Major Crozier's and the little band's victory by these negotiations drove the Indians—shamefaced—back—to—their—reserves. Hunger helped. The Cree Rebellion of '84 was over. I called it the "Cree Rebellion" because the Crees were in control until after the Battle of Cut Knife Hill. Then the Stonies objected to Poundmaker's policy and forced him and the Crees to go to Riel and take a part, or their punishment from the Queen's representative.

It is true that the Crees had listened to Riel's representative later, and it is true that they had met Colonel Otter's fire, who attacked them on Poundmaker's Reserve. The Indian will attack if attacked.

This conference and arrest has a special significance for the town of Battleford. Her police force, as well as her civilian volunteers, were spared from destruction. Had a shot been fired that day, then that large excited band of Indians would have annihilated the forces of law—and the pioneer settlers. What next would have happened? No shot was fired. Who won the victory? May we not congratulate both whiteman and redman—the former for their boldness and tact, and the latter for the respect of the principle "not to attack before being attacked"?

Has Canada a more famous battlefield? Here self-control triumphed. There were no results of slaughter or hatred. This famous valley still lies untouched by plough and undotted with homes. A lofty hill overlooks a deep hollow from a gradual slope extends on the west. On the north the Battle River wanders leisurely with its high, sandy and wooded slopes. That hollow could easily have been soaked with beloved blood. This Society's cross shall stand in this beautiful and deserted valley in honor of all humanity's great virtue, "Self-Control", in honor of policeman,

redman, civilian or official who did their duty in defence of their Queen, when the leaves were budding; in honor of Major Crozier who lived and died a valiant soldier not only of Canada but of the United States. May this slight symbol and these weak pages be replaced in the future by something more imposing to stir in the hearts of all these children of this greatest, this historic plain, a love and respect for those who builded well among these beautiful hills so loved by the Redman!

Battleford;
June 3, 1926.

CAMPBELL INNES.

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xi

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THE ARCHIVES

The Archives contain North-west histories, maps, documents, pictures, relics, newspapers. A complete list of all things will be published in the subsequent publications.

THE INDIANS

- Paget—People of the Plains.
- Hines—The Red Indians of the Plains.
- Wissler—The American Indian.
- Reid—Masters of the Wilderness.
- MacLean—The Indians.
- MacLean—Canadian Savage Folk.
- Morris—Treaties of Canada with Indians.
- Annual Archaeological Report.

THE EXPLORERS

- Milton and Cheadle—The North-west Passage by Land.
- Harmon—Voyags and Travels.
- Mackenzie—Voyages.
- Haworth—Trailmakers of the North-West.
- Butler—The Great Lone Land.
- Butler—The Trailmakers of Canada.
- Denton—The Far West Coast.
- Grant—From Ocean to Ocean.
- Franklin Journey to the Polar Sea.
- Dugas—The Canadian West.

TRAVEL

- Letters of John Pritchard, 1805.
- Tuttle—Our North Land.
- Proulx—La Baie Hudson.
- Lofthouse—A Thousand Miles From a Post Office.
- Young—By Canoe and Dog Train.
- McDougall—On Western Trails in the Early 70's.
- McDougall—Saddle, Sled and Snowshoe.
- McDougall—In the Days of the Red River Rebellion.
- McDougall—Pathfinders of Plain and Prairie.
- McDougall—Forest, Lake and Prairie.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

McLean—Twenty-five Years Service in the Company.

Willson—The Great Company.

Bryce—The Remarkable History of the Company.

Cowie—The Company of Adventurers.

McKenzie—The Men of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Ballantyne—Hudson Bay.

The Beaver Magazine.

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

Masson—Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.

Davidson—The North West Company.

Martin—Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenure.

THE NORTH-WEST POLICE

Scarlet and Gold.

MacBeth—Policing the Plains.

Haydon—The Riders of the Plains.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Duchaussois—The Grey Nuns of the Far North

Morice—L'Eglise dans l'Ouest-Canadien.

Hughes—Father Lacombe.

Jouquet—Mgr. Grandin.

The Monthly Cree Review.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

History of the Church Missionary Society.

Outline—History of C. M. S. Missions.

Healey—Leaders of the Canadian Church.

One Hundred Years of C.M.S.

Life of Archbishop Machray.

Cody—An Apostle of the North.

The Journals of John West.

Healey—John West and The Red River Missions.

Healey—The Rupert's Land Centenary.

Johnstone—The Story of the Church of England.

Anderson—The Net in the Bay.

Anderson—Notes of the Flood.

Newton—Twenty Years on the Saskatchewan.

The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal.

THE ARCHIVES

xv

THE METHODIST CHURCH

- McDougall—George M. McDougall.
McLean—Life of James Evans.
McLean—Vanguards of Western Canada.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

- McKellar—Presbyterian Pioneer Ministers.

THE REBELLION

- Mulvaney—The History of the Rebellion.
Strange—Gunner Jingo's Jubilee.
Boulton—Reminiscences.
Ouimet—La Question Metisse.
Le Gibet de Regina.

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

- Ross—The Red River Settlement.
Garrioch—First Furrows.
Diary of the City of Winnipeg.
Bryce—Lord Selkirk's Colonists.
Healy—Women of the Red River.
Martin—Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada.
Martin—The Red River Settlement.

HISTORIES

- Begg—History of the North-West.
Begg—History of British Columbia.
Black—History of Saskatchewan.
Hawkes—History of Saskatchewan.
Hill—History of Manitoba.
Quaife—Chicago and the Old North-West.
Kellogg—The French Regime in Wisconsin and the North-West.
Carey—History of Oregon.
Laut—The Conquest of the Great North-West.
MacBeth—The Romance of Western Canada.
Kennedy—The Book of the West.
Marsh—Where the Buffalo Roamed.

REFERENCE WORKS

The complete files of the Saskatchewan Herald from 1878 to 1926.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Reports of 1880.

McPhillips Saskatchewan Directory.

The Unexplored West.

The Annual Report of the Alberta and Surveyors.



This picture shows the log building, built in 1874 by Frank Osler, Battleford's first white settler to take up land here, in which the Saskatchewan Herald was printed from 1878 to 1884. This newspaper was the first to be established west of Winnipeg. The Manitoba Free Press was founded in 1872, the Edmonton Bulletin in 1880 and the Regina Leader and Calgary Herald in 1883. This house was built on the flat on the south side of the Battle River, close to the south end of the G. T. P. bridge, two miles from the junction of the Battle and Saskatchewan rivers. The office was moved in 1884 to the north bank of the Battle River to a building used as a store by J. A. Gowanlock who was later killed in the Frog Lake massacre. This is the building now occupied by Mrs. J. C. DeGear. The editor and owner was Patrick Gammie Laurie - a man well versed in all historical information. As a result the Herald columns not only contain a detailed knowledge of local events but report carefully Eastern events of historical importance. The Herald gives a splendid history of Canada, East and West, since August 25, 1878. Its present editions are of very great interest because they review the events of half a century. The son, R. C. Laurie, D.L.S., continues its publication. It is to be hoped that this important historical link will grow stronger. The pluck and perseverance of the Lauries in keeping the Herald foremost in historical work is understood from a perusal of the Herald's Song published first in 1878:

I was born without pomp or glory,
Unfettered, or uncared for,
Amid hills, eternal and hoary,
In the land of the golden West

By the side of the rushing river,
Sweeping with tireless speed,
I have sprung into being
To achieve and to succeed.

I will speak and in tones of thunder
Undaunted by human fears,
I will scatter gloom and rend asunder
The gloom of a thousand years.

And perchance in the not long future
Ere the star of life goes down,
I shall know that this land shines
brightest
In the gems of the British crown.

INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION AS RECORDED IN THE SASKATCHEWAN HERALD

For some months past rumors have been current of prospective troubles with the Indians, but none could be traced to any reliable source, and it seemed as though the peacefulness which has so long reigned between the red man and the paleface was to remain unbroken. That there was discontent, however, could not be and was not concealed, but all thoughts that the Indians—knowing their numerical weakness and how poorly they would be provisioned for a war—would not dare to entertain the idea of taking up arms against the authorities. Last week saw all these expectations suddenly scattered, and an outbreak, fraught with untold horrors, only avoided by a miracle.

It may not be generally known that Lucky Man and Little Pine have been allotted reserves on Battle River, the former adjoining Poundmaker on the west, the latter's reserve being some miles further up the river. In the past, however, Little Pine's men have been living on Lucky Man's reserve, but their intention was to proceed to their own reserve this week. On Tuesday, the 17th, matters were brought to a climax. Instructor Craig was in the warehouse issuing rations to Indians who had earned them when two men came in and asked for provisions. One of them who had been on the sick list for a few days, received his portion, but—according to Craig's story—the other, an indolent, troublesome fellow, also demanded rations. Craig promised him that if he would work he would feed him but not otherwise. The demand was renewed several times and as often refused, and losing his temper the Indian seized an axehandle and struck Craig several blows with it. It so happened that a small detachment of police had arrived on the reserve the previous evening, but they deemed it injudicious to attempt an arrest unassisted.

On Wednesday morning, Supt. Crozier, Inspector Antrobus and about thirty men left for the reserve, every available

mount in the barracks being taken. Orders, however, were left for all horses in the neighborhood to be held in readiness at a moment's notice. Upon arriving at the reserve Supt. Crozier found the Indians gathered from all parts of the district for the purpose of holding their annual Thirst Dance and indulging in threats as to what they would do in certain cases. He at once ordered the cattle and provisions to be removed from Lucky Man's reserve to that of Poundmaker, at which place he constructed bastions of logs, rendered bullet-proof by tiers of sacks of flour and oats. The horses were put in a corral behind the house, and earthworks thrown up to protect them. This work extended far into the night, but when completed presented a formidable appearance and could have been held for some time against considerable force.

Owing to the threatening attitude of the Indians a messenger was despatched to Battleford for additional men and ammunition, and early on Thursday morning Sergeant-Major Kirk left with thirty additional men on horses that had been collected from civilians. Notice was given that any women and children who so desired might be quartered in the barracks, and the rifles and ammunition of the Battleford Infantry Co. were issued to volunteers, many of the members having left the limits.

The Indians, upon the arrival of the police, gathered in their horses, sent their women away, and hung out their medicine-bag, which, according to their customs, meant an open declaration of war and an invitation to the red-coats to "come on".

On Thursday, Major Crozier sent Samuel Ballendine, instructor on Strike-him-on-the back's reserve, to the camp to explain the object of his visit and to ask if they intended to give up the prisoners. Upon receiving their reply, Major Crozier, unarmed and unaccompanied by any one save an interpreter, visited the camp and held a council with the chiefs. He explained to them that the men had been accused of a

breach of the law, and that he had received orders for their arrest—orders which he had no choice but to obey—and asked that the prisoners be given up to him quietly. He promised them a fair trial and guaranteed that if they were innocent, as they claimed to be, they would be released. At first they were determined in their refusal to give up the men, but after some delay it was proposed by some of the Crees that the trial should be held in the Indian camp. To this Major Crozier assented, although he explained to them that he would prefer to hold it at the farm house, where he had his table and books and papers. Chief Poundmaker objected to holding the trial in the camp and expressed his preference for going down to the instructor's house, because, as he was overheard by the interpreter to explain to the remainder, that should the police open fire on them, some of the women and children—who had returned during the forenoon—might be killed.

About 4 a.m. on Friday Major Crozier left the Indian camp, having received a promise from the Indians that they would come down at nine o'clock with the prisoners. As they did not come at the appointed time he again visited the camp and remained with them talking, until between four and five o'clock that evening, at which time he had succeeded in inducing them to come to within half-a-mile of the instructor's house. Here he left them and returned to the fortifications. Mr. Wm. McKay, of the Hudson's Bay Co., who had arrived in company with Mr. Gisborne, remained a short time after Major Crozier left, and reports that Poundmaker addressed the Indians and said in effect that as he found his men were unwilling to yield up the prisoner he would deliver himself up to the police, and left for the barracks in company with Big Bear and two or three other Indians.

Finding that further negotiations were useless, Major Crozier, with Interpreter Laronde, Instructor Craig, and a few men on foot then marched up to where the Indians had

taken up their position, having given orders before he left that the rest should come up immediately prepared for action. Mr. McKay also drove back and at Major Crozier's request interpreted between that officer and the principal man wanted. The Indian told his version of the story, which was to the effect that he had been unwell and wanted provisions for himself and a sick child, when Craig attempted to put him out of the house. The Indians now wanted to have matters dropped altogether. To this Major Crozier replied in the negative and ordered the man to give himself up. Mr. McKay interpreted this to him, and as Major Crozier stepped forward to arrest him he jumped back and attempted to escape, but four men were detailed to take him, which they succeeded in doing.

Now ensued a scene of the most indescribable confusion and uproar, many of the Indians crying out "Now is the time to shoot", while others implored them to wait until the police fired the first shot. The mounted men, who had arrived in the meantime, extended in rear of the party on foot and were ordered to dismount and cock carbines—a manoeuvre which caused the Indians to scatter. In the melee two policemen who belonged to the party on foot were overpowered and disarmed. Indeed, for a few minutes things looked very darkly, and it was nothing short of a miracle that prevented bloodshed, for had a rifle or a revolver gone off accidentally in the scuffle, there is no telling what might have been the result, as firing would undoubtedly become general, and war to the knife have been declared. The prisoner was safely lodged in the guardroom and placed under a strong guard, while sentries were posted on all sides of the fortified buildings. For some time after the arrest had been consummated the Indians appeared to be greatly excited and galloped about in all directions, shouting and flourishing their weapons. In the confusion which followed the arrest Interpreter Laronde was surrounded by the Indians and made a prisoner, but after it had been explained to them by himself

and Mr. McKay that the part he had taken in the trouble was only in discharge of his duty they allowed him to go.

As Mr. McKay was about to leave the scene he heard an Indian say "I have one of their rifles, anyway", whereupon he stopped and demanded to know who had it. Poundmaker showed it, but when asked for it said he wanted the police to send him provisions first. Mr. McKay was firm, however, and ultimately succeeded in securing the rifle, as also a belt and revolver that had been taken. One Indian in the party, when he saw that Poundmaker was persistent in his refusal to surrender it, stepped forward and placed his own rifle in the chief's hands, telling him that he had now no excuse for not delivering it up. The other rifle was also recovered and delivered to the police by a friendly Indian, who had fallen in the ranks of the police and announced his intention of dying with the white men.

A quantity of flour and bacon was distributed among those Indians who were positively identified as having taken a stand favorable to the police, and while this was being given out Instructor Craig pointed out amongst the on-lookers the Indian who had assisted the first prisoner in committing the assault. He was at once arrested and placed in the guardroom with his companion. Shortly after nine o'clock the police left with their prisoners for Battleford, where they arrived about 4.30 a.m. on Saturday, completely wearied out, many of them having been awake and on the move for fully forty-eight hours.

An attempt was made on Thursday to establish telegraph communication with the reserve, owing to the great uncertainty which prevailed, but was only partially successful. A party composed of Mr. Hugh Richardson, telegraph operator, and Messrs. Wm. H. Smart and Wm. Laurie, drove up on the north side of the Battle River to the Thirty Mile Lake, where the trail from Bresäylor to Poundmaker's crosses the telegraph line, which point is distant about five miles from the reserve. Here the line was cut and an

instrument connected, but the battery at Battleford could not be got. Suspecting that something was wrong an examination was made and the wire was found tied down in a slough with willow withes, a short distance from the place chosen for the temporary telegraph office. This was remedied and Battleford was successfully raised. A message had been sent from Battleford to Major Crozier notifying him of the arrangements, but as no word had been received from the reserve up to three o'clock on Friday afternoon, it was decided to send a messenger into the camp to get news. This was done, one of the party crossing the river and visiting the scene of action. A message was received for transmission, but upon Mr. Richardson's endeavoring to get it off, the line was found to be wide open. Some more despatches having been brought over—some of a very important nature—it was decided to drive into town with them, when, if the police had not returned, it was intended to return along the line, placing it in repair and resuming their posts. The young men found, however, that the police were in town, almost simultaneously with themselves, and all further necessity of another trip obviated. It was unfortunate indeed that the line could not have been used more than it was; still the party deserve commendation for their enterprise and pluck for starting out on an expedition into the enemy's country in the face of the alarming rumors in circulation, and without food or bedding—in fact with no equipment but their rifles and the telegraph-operator's kit.

The departure of the first detachment of police for the reserves did not occasion much surprise, but when the order came for every available man to take the field it looked as if matters might become serious. It was at once decided to call out the volunteer infantry company to act as a home guard in the meantime, and to co-operate with the police, if necessary. The company had not been paraded for several years, and on calling the roll it was found that there was scarcely a corporal's guard of the original members in town.

There was no difficulty, however, in finding reliable volunteers, and in the course of the day the rifles and accoutrements were issued. The men met at the barracks in the evening, and a patrol was told off to guard the principal approaches to the town. In the absence of any news from the reserves, as explained by the cutting of the telegraph line, piquets were thrown out on Friday night also.

The offer of quarters in the barracks to any who might wish to avail themselves of the greater security they offered in case of attack was taken advantage of by several families from the country as well as from the town, while some remained at home, resolved to sit by their own firesides until a definite danger threatened.

The telegram received on Friday afternoon, that a messenger was then in camp and would be back at six o'clock, made everyone anxious for that hour to arrive; but the line going down in the meantime left us as ignorant as ever of the position of affairs. The news that no collision had occurred up to three o'clock was generally accepted as an evidence that the Indians had resorted to their safer tactics of speech-making and bluff and that none would occur; and this was confirmed later in the evening by some civilians who brought word that when they left the talk was still going on, but that Major Crozier would start for home that evening and bring the prisoners with him.

At half-past four on Saturday morning the party returned, bringing in the prisoners, and except that a mounted piquet was put on at night everything went on as usual.

The thanks of the community are undoubtedly due to Major Crozier for the successful manner in which bloodshed was averted; for had but one shot been fired human mind could not foresee what would have been the result. The courage and coolness of this officer in going amongst the Indians unarmed and alone is deserving of the greatest praise, and at the same time he had taken such precautions

that, had war been declared, the Indians would certainly have been defeated in the first conflict with the authorities. Captain Antrobus and the non-commissioned officers and men of "D" Division are deserving of the gratitude and admiration of all whose interest it was and is to see peace preserved and the lives and property of settlers protected. Not a man flinched, but all alike were ready, should the word of command be given, and the need arise, to risk their lives in the discharge of their duty. When the treatment received by the police at the hands of the Indians is considered, their wonderful control of temper is the more commendable. A number of civilians, too, voluntarily visited the scene of the trouble and placed themselves under the direction of the police. These gentlemen, as well as the volunteers who took all necessary precautions to protect the town against surprise, also deserve praise.

One Indian when he saw the police marching to the Indian camp, arrayed himself in their ranks, avowing his intention of dying with the white men in the event of a contest.

Big Bear's younger son came in on Sunday from the reserve with a police revolver which he had recovered in the camp.

Poundmaker sent tobacco to Little Bear's Head, the Assiniboine chief, with an invitation to visit and act with him. The latter, however, returned the gift with the intimation that he was not a Cree and a suggestion that it should be taken to Red Pheasant, the Cree chief on the Eagle Hills Reserve. The last named also returned the tobacco with an enquiry as to who was to furnish him in the future with flour and bacon in the event of his taking up arms against the whites.

Sergt. Brooks and a detachment of six men arrived from Red Deer Forks on Friday morning, whither they had been on a twelve-day trip on the look-out for horse thieves. As soon as the men heard of the trouble on the reserve they

asked for permission to go to the front, and on receiving an affirmative answer left for the front at once.

On Sunday, after the men of "D" Division had had their dinner, Major Crozier entered the mess-room and thanked Capt. Antrobus and the non-commissioned officers and men of the Division for their conduct during the recent troubles, remarking that he was highly pleased to know that he had a body of men under him in whom the most implicit reliance could be placed. At the conclusion of the Major's remarks the men gave him three hearty cheers and a tiger.

When the settlers of Saskatoon heard of the trouble they telegraphed an offer of the assistance of fifty armed men if their services were required. Saskatoon is the nearest settlement to Battleford, but no direct trade relations have as yet been established between them to promote acquaintance, and this makes the merit of their kindly offer the more to be appreciated.

On Monday morning the prisoners were brought up before Major Crozier for preliminary examination, but that officer explained to them that he desired them to have their witnesses as well as the white man and, as their witnesses were not in, he would adjourn the case until such time as they should arrive. He further stated to them that when they were arrested it was not by any means only for punishment but for trial. He believed that an Indian should always receive a fair trial, and informed the prisoners that as many of their people as wished could come into the trial and give evidence, and the Indian's side of the question, as well as the white man's, would be heard in full.

On July 4th the two prisoners were brought before Supt. Crozier for preliminary examination and the evidence taken of Craig and the accused. The prisoner who hit Craig was committed for trial, the other one discharged. August 28th the prisoner was tried by Judge Rouleau and sentenced to one week in jail.



Fine Day is an aged warrior of seventy years, living on Sweet Grass Reserve, about fifteen miles from Battleford. Tall, strong and well developed, this Indian became one of the wildest, boldest, and most reckless of the Battle River's fighting men. There were no terrors too great for him to enjoy, and all the Indians feared him because they knew not what he would do next. Poundmaker, who knew nothing of warfare, placed him in command of the dissatisfied Indians in 1884. This responsibility made him serious; especially the task of meeting Col. Otter's forces at Cut Knife Hill. Disappointed in the Fort Carlton Treaty of 1876 he nursed his disgust, especially during the Rebellion of 1885, and today he still fights the Government. Fine Day is an Irreconcilable and one of the last of that historic guard who defended Indian civilization.

INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION AS RELATED BY FINE DAY

Fine Day possesses a clear recollection of the Indian events which have taken place during his lifetime. He speaks only Cree. The following discussion took place in April, 1926, with C. Innes questioning, Fine Day answering and R. Jefferson interpreting.

1. Where and when were you born?

F. D. About a day's journey up the Battle River over seventy years ago.

I. Are you a Cree?

F. D. No. My grandfather was a Blackfoot and my grandmother was a Stoney.

I. What did you do prior to coming to live on the reserve?

F. D. I belonged to my father's small band which spent most of the time following the buffalo; in summer moving north and in winter moving south.

I. Where was the best buffalo country?

F. D. South of the Battle River. They kept out of the bush and preferred the short fresh grass of the plains.

I. Why did you come to live on a reserve in 1876, the date of the Fort Carlton Treaty?

F. D. In the days of the bow and arrow it required a bold hunter and a fast horse to succeed, but the coming of the rifles made it possible for a very few Indians to kill many buffalo.

J. The American Indians were placed on the reserves. Sitting Bull escaped to Canada with many Indians and continued to hunt the buffalo. The buffalo were soon hemmed in by settlers on the east, north and west, and quickly killed from the plains. The Indians, even Fine Day and Poundmaker, believed that the buffalo wandered into a great morass and disappeared from the earth.

I. Were you ever in the United States?

F. D. Yes, for short visits. I go south to see my kindred tribes frequently.

I. Did you hear of Riel on your first visit?

F. D. Yes. Word was sent by him that he was coming to the Saskatchewan Valley to help the Indians as he had helped the half-breeds once.

I. Under what chief were you when the treaty was signed?

F. D. Strike-him-on-the-back's.

I. What did you think of the treaty?

F. D. It sounded nice.

J. The Government could hardly estimate the extent of the problem of taking care of the Indian on the reserve and the Indian thought that the life would be one of ease—to be in the pay and keep of the Government.

I. What work did you do on the reserve?

F. D. We planted potatoes, cut fence poles, put up hay and kept bothering the Instructor for food. Then wheat and barley was given to us to sow. The potatoes and wheat froze the first time. Then the potatoes were taken to the Instructor's cellar for winter.

I. Did you have any cattle?

F. D. Not till after the Rebellion, except some oxen on the reserve.

I. Did all the Indians leave the plains and settle on the reserve in 1876?

F. D. Most of the Indians were on the reserves in 1882. With the disappearance of the buffalo, starvation faced them unless they came in.

I. What about Big Bear?

F. D. He came in last in 1882 and spent the winter cutting cordwood at Stinking Lake. Then he was taken up to his reserve at Onion Lake next year.

I. Did Big Bear like to be so far away from the reserves on the Battle River?

F. D. No. He sent the little package of tobacco in the spring of 1883, which meant the calling of a conference, for he was dissatisfied and brought all his men down to Poundmaker's.

I. What did the other chiefs think about their reserves?

F. D. They wanted one big reserve, or one part of the West, for the Indians, since they were disgusted with the

treaty. The Indians saw that they were the slaves of the Government—doing tasks and receiving bad food, and little of that.

I. How was the conference called?

F. D. Big Bear was to have a Thirst Dance.

I. The other chiefs agreed—Poundmaker, Little Pine, Lucky Man, Moosomin, Strike-him-on-the-back, Red Pheasant, and Stoney chiefs Bear's Head, Skinny Man and Mosquito?

F. D. Yes, they thought it was a good plan to talk it over during the time of the Thirst Dance. Poundmaker saw that the Indians were dissatisfied, and advocated better terms for years. Big Bear's conference of '84 was to decide a definite plan of action.

I. Will you describe Big Bear's Thirst Dance—his last I suppose.

F. D. I was there and took part in the preparations and dance. The day before the dance all gathered around Big Bear, who naked, except for the clay which covered his body, prayed that the dance might be successful, and that all prayers would be answered, especially the prayer for water. Big Bear did not eat or sleep that night. Early in the morning he sent messengers to call for trailers (men on horseback with ropes) to come. When these came they were asked to search for a proper stick for the tent. When this was found it must stand to honor the god who was to give all. All dressed in their best accompanied the searcher for the stick. When this was found Big Bear prayed, facing east, north, west, south, in turn. The tree was chopped down, falling to the south. The moment it fell the guns were fired and then all rushed to get a branch as a trophy from the battlefield. The young warriors dragged the tree to the spot. A nest was prepared at the top which contained some precious article from the Indian to please the Great Spirit. Big Bear offered prayers and then a hole was dug

for the stick. It was put in an upright position while Big Bear chanted prayers. Rafters were next secured and placed from the upright stick to poles placed upright in the ground. Branches were piled on this skeleton roof. A square hole was dug opposite the main entrance to be 16 inches deep. A stick was placed in each corner and one in the centre. Big Bear then filled the pipe and pointed to each stick in turn, then to the east, north, west, south, then above, praying, "To you who have given what we have to-day". He lit the pipe and pointed to each point of the compass, east north, west, south, and prayed the same prayer. The pipe was passed from warrior to warrior gathered round the square. When it had gone round the bowl of the pipe was placed over the centre hole and the stem was thrown away. Incense was made with sweet grass. Big Bear uttered another prayer before the drum commenced, which was the signal for the dance. These men and women dancers thirsted in proportion as their prayers demanded more or less sacrifice (half a day to a day). The great deeds of each were recounted as he danced and made his promise.

I. After the dance there would be the conference?

F. D. Yes, the chiefs would meet.

I. Did this dance bring rain?

F. D. Yes; the dancers may drink the falling rain.

I. Did you have any visitors during the dance?

F. D. Major Crozier and some soldiers entered in search for Man-who-speaks-our-language, an Indian who struck Craig of the Indian Department, a few days previous, and who swore he would not be arrested.

I. Did the dance stop?

F. D. No notice was taken of him. The Indian would not notice anything during a religious performance.

I. Crozier soon left?

F. D. Yes; he saw he could not recognize anyone in such painted state, and he had to wait till the dance was over and get more men from Battleford.

I. After the dance did the chiefs meet Crozier?

F. D. Yes, Big Bear promised to do so.

I. What did the chiefs want?

F. D. That the trial be held on the reserve.

I. The chiefs wanted to make the police do as they wished. They wished to tease and defy authority?

F. D. Yes. The summer before the Indians had held off the police for ten days, and cannon had to be brought from Regina.

I. Did the chiefs move to the place agreed?

F. D. No, only part of the way.

I. Some of the Indians had changed their minds; I suppose they wanted to make a joke of the police as they had tried to do with Inspector Antrobus the previous summer?

F. D. Crozier was determined to get the Indian, and talked to the chiefs. The Indians were ranged on one side and the police on the other. The bad Indian was arrested by force.

I. Did you see the arrest?

F. D. No, there were too many around and the Indian was hurried away by the police.

I. Why did the Indians not fire on the police?

F. D. An Indian is despised who commits murder without being attacked.

I. If the police had fired a shot what would have happened?

F. D. The Indians would have killed them all. There were many armed Indians and few police.

I. Who advised against firing?

F. D. Our old men said, "Do not shoot first".

I. If the Indians had fired first, all the police and volunteers of Battleford would have been killed?

F. D. Yes, and we would have rushed down to Battleford to attack and massacre.

I. Did you follow the police, and why?

F. D. Yes, we yelled, pushed against their horses, > tried to frighten them, to get their things, to make them fire.

I. Did you get anything?

F. D. Yes, a revolver, and Poundmaker got one.

I. Did you keep them?

F. D. No, we gave them up before the police left.

I. How far did you follow the police?

F. D. To the Instructor's house when we were given food—bacon and flour—if we were good Indians.

I. Did you get any?

F. D. No.

I. The police made another arrest here?

F. D. I believe the brother, from the line.

I. You had a great chance to rebel in the spring of '84. The chiefs were dissatisfied. They and their men were all together. They knew Riel was coming to redress the grievances of the half-breeds. You had the police and Battleford at your mercy, but yet you would not fire first.

F. D. That is true.

I. What prevented it? Did you realize that you had to depend on the white man for food, or were you frightened of the little police band, or did Poundmaker prevent you?

F. D. Poundmaker did not wish us to attack. The government were giving more to the Indians than was required by the Treaty of 1876 and the Indians were asking for more. Poundmaker believed in seeking better terms.

I. What about Big Bear's great conference?

F. D. Crozier's arrest of the two Indians in face of the frenzied band of 2000 Indians made a conference impossible. The Indians had to return to their reserves to work and get food, for it was the spring time and Big Bear must return to his reserve.

I. And so the Cree Rebellion of '84 came to an end with Crozier's arrest of the two Indians. The chiefs separated never to meet again. The occasion to hurl a united race into warfare was lost, and Riel gained little assistance from them afterwards. But the Indians did shoot first.

F. D. The Stoneys murdered their Instructor in 1885 and called it war. Poundmaker had placed me in charge of the bands and there was to be no murder. A guard was placed over Instructor Jefferson to prevent him being murdered. Some Indians thought Poundmaker would go to war when the murders were committed.

I. When did Poundmaker go to war?

F. D. The police attacked us at Cut Knife Hill and the Indians defended the hill; Col. Otter retreated to Battleford without being attacked, for Poundmaker did not wish it.

J. Poundmaker wished to go west to escape to the United States or flee into the wild lands. The Stoneys rebelled against this and made him go to Riel in order to get it over with and be punished. On the way the freighters' ox-train was captured and Elliott killed.

I. It seems to me that many Indians were anxious for a war but the discouragements of '84 prevented them and then daring ones committed murder and pillaging in order to force their leaders into concerted action to aid Riel. The chiefs endeavoured to remain loyal but the uncontrollable young bucks rebelled against the reserve life and partly forced on tragic events.



Robert Jefferson was born in the year 1856 at South Shields, the County of Durham, England. He was educated for the profession of Civil Engineer before he came to Manitoba in 1876. Mr. Jefferson came to the Battleford District in 1878. Over 40 years of his life has been spent in direct touch with the natives in various capacities official and otherwise. His experiences release a fund of information on subjects of which the only knowledge is obtained from complacent reports of Departments and of a people who neither attract nor excite interest because they have no vote.

INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION

AS RELATED BY ROBERT JEFFERSON

Amongst the names appended to the Treaty signed at Carlton in August, 1876, will be found that of "Oo-peeth-to-kah-han-up-pee-we-yun", since Anglicized into "Poundmaker". He signed as headman in the band of "Pee-yayokah-mik-oo-sit", or as he was afterwards called "Red Pheasant". After the ceremonies were over, the Indians dispersed, Poundmaker going south to mingle with the Blackfeet, by the chief of which tribe he had been adopted. When Red

Pheasant and his band took up their reserve in the Eagle Hills, Poundmaker did not join them; there were still plenty of buffalo roaming the prairie, and necessity did not yet begin to press. During the second year of his band's settlement Poundmaker came up north to see how things were on the reserve and the prospects of this new mode of life into which the Indians were being initiated. He came at a bad time. The attempts at agriculture were, naturally, miserable and unproductive; the assistance was totally inadequate; the outlook hopeless. The Indian Department was taken unawares by the sudden disappearance of the buffalo and had made no provision for maintaining and clothing, while they were instructing, the thousands of helpless people thrown on their hands. The Indians were given piece-work—cutting cordwood, fence-rails and so on—and their inexperience told heavily against them. Poundmaker could see no prospect of an independent livelihood to be gained on a reserve under such conditions and left for the south again in disgust. The Boundary Country had by this time become the Last Wild West. There, the remains of the once countless herds of buffalo were corralled. The Sioux from Montana were there; the scum (or cream) of the Indians of the prairies—the daring, the hardy, the resolute and the independent—were there; venturesome whites hunting the disappearing buffalo for the sake of the hide; United States cavalry, Mounted Police and the ever increasing tide of settlement, made a mixture that rendered life precarious in the south. Each had what he could get, and keep, at the risk of his life. Cattle killing, horse stealing, murder, made conditions so intolerable that at last the authorities intervened in earnest. The Sioux were repatriated, the roving whites resumed the trammels of civilization and the Indians were escorted home.

While this change was in progress, Poundmaker, with a large following of young men, came north and took up his reserve by choice where the Cut Knife Creek meanders down to join Battle River. He managed to impress the authorities

with part of his ideas and, what was considered by the Indian Department to be a lavish distribution of oxen and plows was furnished. Rations on a fairly liberal scale of flour and bacon—for those who worked, were also provided. In the spring of 1884 circumstances decided me to seek employment from the Indian Department and I was placed on Poundmaker's Reserve. The Indians were reckoned hard to get along with and, what with the Department on one side and the Indians on the other, my predecessor gave up in despair. I had already been six years on a reserve in another capacity and had a fair knowledge of the language, so I had little doubt of being able to hold the balance between the two opposite influences.

It was hard work. I had to see every Indian every day in order to keep strict track of their activities, since rations were distributed daily. They did not like this close supervision; they thought it implied suspicion of their good faith. They objected to being ordered about; they objected to any hint of their inferiority. I soon found out their peculiarities and so far accommodated my intercourse with them as to gain the confidence of the majority. A few I missed, but they were not worth while. In all this I found the Chief a great help. He always took a sensible view of things. At the end of the spring work I found we had about two hundred acres under crop.

Poundmaker was a man about forty years of age, tall, and rather thin. His hair was long and matted in small ropes which hung down to his middle. A large aquiline nose was the outstanding feature of a countenance that was decidedly pleasant. His bearing was dignified under all circumstances, his mind was open and his manner convincing. He had never distinguished himself as a warrior but from his tribal connection with the Crees and his social position among the Blackfeet had on many occasions been instrumental in patching up differences between the two tribes and mitigating their age-long animosity.

Of these Indians who stuck to their old life on the prairie from discontent with the help afforded those who settled on reserves, Poundmaker was the first who recognized himself beaten by the new conditions and came north. He was quickly followed by Sweet Grass, Lucky Man and Little Pine, who also took up land along the Battle River, the last two settling just west of the Cut Knife Reserve. These latter were in charge of a man named Craig, a Scotchman by birth and an American by assimilation. On these reserves each Indian had a separate holding, with a shack, stable and out buildings according to his ambitions and means, as well as a field measured by his ability to get hold of a team of oxen, which had to be by turns among several.

All settlement on Poundmaker's, Lucky Man's and Little Pine's was on the lower flat that stretches along Battle River and was bare prairie except along the Cut Knife Creek which runs through a willow bottom most of its course. The habitation allotted by the Indian Department to the Instructor was a little log shack, with mudded walls and roof, neither better nor worse than those in which the Indians lived. It was all right while dry weather lasted but every considerable shower washed the mud off the sides and top on to the floor and not only drenched but dirtied everything in the house, if it is not desecration to use the word. The Indians lived in tents all summer and were not troubled in this way, in fact would never have put up with it. Two or three little outbuildings completed the official holding, all of the same style and finish. There was good cause to be thankful that it was a dry country. The furnishings were on a similar scale—a small cookstove and a home-made table.

On our reserve there were about two hundred and fifty Indians, the men nearly all young and able-bodied; on Craig's reserve about the same number of people but with a larger proportion of old and decrepit. Young and ambitious Indians from all the reserves round about flocked to join Poundmaker, from the greater consideration and help afford-

ed his following. A fair crop was put in the ground and everything but want of rain appeared to be in order, when, early in June, Big Bear and his band turned up.

A few of the wildest and most independent Indians had, in one way and another, evaded the "round up" of the police and American cavalry, and, with Big Bear as their nominal head, had by scattering and practising the ubiquity that comes so easy to the native, held on in the south till neither on the American nor Canadian side of the line would their relatives harbor them. They gave in and were brought to the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, which was supposed to be their country. They were not satisfied with that location, but put in the winter there and, when the grass got green and long enough for their horses, packed up and landed at Poundmaker's Reserve. Big Bear said he came at Poundmaker's invitation. Poundmaker said Big Bear came to make a Thirst Dance. To gather various bands of Indians together, either in one large reserve or in a number of contiguous settlements was one of the professed aims of Poundmaker, who saw that much better treatment could be screwed out of the Department by concerted action than by the futile efforts of small and separated communities; therefore I believe the visitors came by invitation. It is also likely enough that the Thirst Dance was a supplementary reason. The Indian Department did not favor the idea of the large reserve or of Big Bear's taking up land anywhere but in his own district, so a detachment of police came up to watch the progress of events and to keep an eye on the visitors. I accompanied the sergeant in charge when he went to interview Big Bear. It was quite a friendly visit. The old chief was as polite as we were, but he would not budge. The police wanted him and his band to return home. Big Bear answered that he and his band came by invitation and it would be a discourtesy he would not commit to leave before his visit was consummated. All arguments proved unavailing against his attitude. I had never seen Big Bear before and it seemed

to me that he had got beyond the stage when he would be harmful, except as the mouthpiece of sinister influences. He was old and doubtless only wanted enough to eat and drink for the remainder of his days to decide him to throw himself on the side that would ensure it to him. He would not go home. He meant no harm, but would stay as long as his hosts wanted him. The police pitched their tents and evidently intended to stay as long as he did.

The visiting band, on their arrival, camped near the Instructor's residence. The band was not large, but they were a hard-looking outfit. Several of them afterwards distinguished themselves in the Frog Lake massacre when the Rebellion broke out. The chief himself was old, and whatever ferocity he may in former times have been distinguished for, had entirely cooled with age. He was a mere figure-head. But he had the square face, big nose and glazed eyes of the untamed Indian. Resolution was plainly written in his face, and his squat, low-set figure no less gave evidence of bodily strength. One of his sons, "Ah-yim-is-sees", in person very like Big Bear, had apparently caught the mantle of authority that fell from the ageing chief, but used the old man as spokesman. He had a bad reputation, even among the Indians, and looked the part. Wandering Spirit, who played a prominent part in the massacre, was rather a pleasant looking man, with light complexion, curly hair and an expression that raised no suspicion of blood-thirstiness; Ta-twah-sin was of the same type. But these two were exceptions. The band, taken as a whole, had a very wild appearance. They were not more than a hundred in number.

The spring work was finished on Poundmaker's Reserve and the Agent ordered all rations to be stopped, with the idea of starving the intruders out. The Indians immediately built weirs across the Battle River in several places and got an ample supply of fish. Then the whole population, natives and visitors, moved to a point a little east of the Little Pine house, where a wide stretch of level ground gave room

for a large camp. They were going to have a Thirst Dance. Big Bear, it appears, was the maker and had sent invitations out to all the neighboring bands of Indians, to ensure a large attendance. Two or three of the police followed them to the new location and camped near the Instructor's house, to keep an eye on the proceedings. The Indian tents were pitched in a large circle with the chiefs and prominent men lodged near the centre and for the next two days, from every quarter, a procession of men, women and children—without mentioning dogs—with all known kinds of equipment, poured into the camp. Taking the count of all the reserves at the time there were probably fifteen or sixteen hundred souls. This made quite a large circle and a great number of mouths to fill.

The preparatory business to the Thirst Dance was well under way and Poundmaker's Reserve deserted; the Indians were quiet, and the agitation appeared to be wearing itself away in harmless talk when a bombshell startled everyone into life. Craig, the Instructor for Little Pine, was "assaulted" by two of Big Bear's young men. The Instructor said that they had come and demanded food. He was in the storehouse at the time and, after he had refused to be won over by persuasion and they still declined to accept his decision as final, he lost command of his temper and pushed them out. One of them caught up an axe handle that lay near the door and hit Craig on the arm with it. He was not injured at all, hardly hurt, but the insult demanded punishment and his position vindication, so he laid the matter before the police. These were too few to take matters in their own hands, so they despatched one of their number to town with the news. In the meantime reports of the affair had saturated the camp and the dance was almost forgotten in the excitement of speculating what would follow. The two Indians were brothers; one rather a noted "bad man"; and they had given out that they would not allow themselves to be taken, even though they had to shed blood in preventing

it. This decision affected the camp very seriously and in two different ways. If these men kept their word and any of the police were injured in the scrimmage attending arrest, it could hardly be that they would not be fired on. This, to the Indian, would mean that one side would be arrayed against the other and war result. There were many in the camp who would welcome such an opportunity for starting a row; but the great majority were peacefully inclined and anticipated with much disrelish the "pickle" in which they would be involved. Indian ethics required that they range themselves on the side of their countrymen and there seemed to be no escape from the distressing dilemma.

That evening the Thirst Dance started. All night the distant thud, thud, of the tom-tom and the multitudinous sounds of the excited camp kept me awake long enough to realize the many serious possibilities of the situation. By noon next day, Major Crozier, the Agent and a small escort of police arrived. I went with them up to the camp.

Crozier's idea was to arrest the Indian at once, if the man could be spotted, which seemed to suggest itself as the proper thing to do. Craig's services were enlisted and, as it was reported that the culprit was among the dancers, Crozier and the rest of us pushed our way through the crowd of armed Indians into the dancing tent. We received plenty of advice as to what might happen if the arrest were resisted; indeed, the Indians viewed the situation with considerable trepidation. We passed round the line of dancers who showed not the slightest concern. The drum never stopped; the singing was as lusty as usual, while the performers bobbed up and down and tooted their little goose bone whistles with unmoved placidity. They were all painted up and dressed out of all recognition, and the accessories of ornamentation have so much to do with personal appearance that our inspection was without result. Craig, who was the only one of us who knew the man, gave up the search and we trailed out of the dancing tent down to the lodges of the chiefs

which were inside the ring and not far away. A howling multitude accompanied us, some on horseback and others on foot, showering us with every insulting epithet they could find in the Indian vocabulary. We found the chiefs and Major Crozier used every persuasion he could think of to induce the head men to give the offenders up. All replies were polite refusals. They were not concerned with anyone else's misdeeds and it was not their business to arrest criminals. If the police thought good they might take the men but take the responsibility also. Finally Crozier received a ~~promise if he would hold his hand till the dance was over,~~ and the accompanying danger removed, Big Bear would bring the whole camp of Indians down to the Instructor's house on Poundmaker's Reserve where Crozier might take his prisoner if he could. By this time the sun was low and the Agent, with the assistance of Craig, got together several ox-teams which we loaded up with flour and bacon from Little Pine's storehouse for transportation to the lower reserve, in accordance with a plan of campaign evolved by Major Crozier. The police led the way, the ox teams followed, while Craig and I, driving with the Agent, brought up the rear. The beaten trail went straight through the camp and, as we wished to make our movements as unobtrusive as possible, we made a wide circle round the tents. A large swamp restrained us on the right side, however, and we necessarily passed much closer than we wished. We had Indians driving the oxen. In the advanced dusk of a midsummer day we started and the two hours or so that followed made a most vivid impression on me. To begin with, we had serious doubts as to whether we should be allowed to finish our trip; when we reached the confines of the camp we had no doubt whatever. It seemed as though pandemonium had broken loose. The noise, yelling and riding to-and-fro were unnerving enough but when they began shooting and we heard the bullets whistling over our heads, it was only despair that kept us on our way. With the first shots, our In-

dian drivers deserted, they having apparently come to the conclusion that it was not safe to be with us. The police, with Craig, took over the driving. Our speed was measured by the oxen's gait and the Agent and I had to make periodic halts to avoid bumping into the wagon boxes ahead of us. I knew that oxen were slow travellers but not till now did I realize how slow. But the Indians were only trying to frighten us since the bullets that flew overhead might just as easily have dropped in our midst. We hurried on with as little confusion as possible, passed the camp and got out of range of the shooting. The noise, too, abated as distance increased and we began to picture the crossing of the creek. It had a soft, sandy bed, admirably adapted to mire a wagon in while the thick willow brush that bordered it could not fail to suggest itself to our tormentors as ideal for ambushing a party held up by the difficulties of the passage. Our wagons were very heavily loaded and, of course, they did stick in the creek, one after the other, as they attempted the ford. We had to unload, carry the bags of flour and sacks of bacon to firm ground, before we could get through. But there were no Indians there to molest us and the work was rather a relief. Eventually we reached our destination but not to rest. Messengers were despatched to town, summoning all the available police, and such volunteers as could quickly be gathered together, to our assistance. The rest of us were employed all night building bastions on two corners of the Instructor's shack and lining them with bags of flour. Speaking calmly at this distance of time, it is difficult to see how those defences would help us if the worst came to the worst and we should be besieged by the Indians. Both were commanded from the top of the hill a hundred yards away and one was on the edge of a dense willow bush. However, it was probably the best course that suggested itself to our commander and by daylight it was finished.

The dance was supposed to finish at sundown the day before and the chiefs had given their word that the Indians,

including the two malefactors, would come down towards the place where we were so that the police should have every chance of making their intended arrest. Early in the forenoon a large party was discerned approaching from the direction of the camp but they proved to be the Sweet Grass band. Their headmen came in to interview Major Crozier. They made out that they were too good for the company they had been keeping and were on their way home. They stopped, however, on the edge of the hill that looked down on the shack and had a good position, whatever happened.

The re-inforcements from Battleford had by this time arrived and we were ready for our reception. We had not long to wait. Soon the uproar from the direction of the camp proclaimed that the Indians were coming. Part of us were detailed to man the bastions while the rest—mostly police—were to march out and make the arrest. There was a field on the north-west of the shack and the tumultuous concourse of Indians halted on the far side of this field, about a quarter of a mile away. The police marched out from our entrenchments, Crozier at their head, with Craig as guide, to essay the arrest. The little band—for it was little compared with the horde of Indians, men, women and children—was at once surrounded, obstructed, pushed and hustled, in fact, all but assailed, in an endeavour to frighten them from their purpose. Luckily Craig caught sight of his assailant and the man that had boasted that he would fight if an attempt were made to arrest him turned tail. The police marched after him and, in spite of all the clamorous impedimentation of the man's friends, caught him. The fellow made no attempt at resistance and was marched off towards our little fort. The noise, the yelling and the disturbance were now increased tenfold as the disappointed Indians saw their champion taken like this without the expected resistance and the police were rather roughly handled; some were separated from the main body but were not injured in any way and eventually found their way back to the fort. Luck was with

the police that day for, as they marched along, Craig recognized the second of his assailants in an Indian who made himself conspicuous amongst the crowd of yellers and hustlers who tried to interfere with the first capture. He was absorbed in spite of strenuous resistance and the two prisoners safely landed in our shack. Once the arrest was accomplished beyond all doubt, the attitude of the Indians changed. The deafening yells, the hostile demonstrations stopped as if by arrangement and the confusion quickly died down. The head men, including Poundmaker and Big Bear, came to interview Crozier, evidently just as well satisfied with the way things had turned out as we were. The scale had been in the hands of the prisoner; had he acted as he proposed and turned on his captors, the white men and Indians would have been forced into different camps; since he had not broken the peace their friendship remained unimpaired. At this juncture William McKay, a Hudson's Bay man and an old acquaintance of all the Indians, along with a man in the government service, rode amongst the still excited crowd and brought up to the shack Indian after Indian whom McKay vouched for as "good Indians" and to whom bags of flour and sides of bacon were dished out by Crozier's orders. Gradually this distribution became general to all who came and advertised their amity and good-will. In the hurry and confusion it was not possible to deliberately weigh the pros and cons against each applicant so it naturally came about that most of the grub went to those with the most cheek. During this confab I noticed that Poundmaker was armed with a club formed from a piece of hardwood into which knife blades were stuck so as to protrude a few inches on one edge; a most formidable weapon at close quarters. Afterwards the chief told me that Crozier had worn a coat of chain mail under his coat. I suppose he must have noticed it.

The police, immediately on coming in, had started preparations for departure and, while the provisions were being handed out, Crozier called me to one side and told me that

he would like me to stay, if it could be safely done, and follow the accustomed routine so that the Indians might regard the affair as an incident merely and not as the momentous crisis which it would become if I deserted along with the police. The Agent backed up this proposal with all the arguments he could think of. My brother and a young friend, who were staying with me, were already packing up to go and this proposition took me quite by surprise. Such a course had never occurred to me nor did I think anyone could suggest it. Crozier affected to think very lightly of the Indians' aptitude for fighting and thought the danger small. "Fight!" said he, "All one wants is a club to tame these fellows". Crozier was wrong in his estimate and he was led into trouble through it afterwards, but in the light of the present affair he spoke with reason. I did not like to refuse, so told him I would consult some of the principal Indians and let him know. First I sounded Poundmaker, who would take no responsibility in the matter—"I had better consult some of the others". I did so but none of them would commit themselves. Finally I asked Little Pine, who, without any hesitation, declared that it was the right thing to do and that he would stand by me in the undertaking. It is one of the time-hallowed customs of the Indians that there is safety under the protection of a chief, and I knew that if I stepped carefully I ran the risk of the unforeseen only. So I carried the word to Crozier that I would remain. My brother and his young friend said they also would stay and keep me company.

The police and volunteers departed for town with their prisoners, the Indians gradually dissolved into the gathering dusk and we three were left to review the events of the last few days and speculate on what the coming time would bring forth. Thinking it over thus we could only now realize how narrow the margin had been between us and death. The confidences of those Indians who were undoubtedly friendly shewed that they did not believe it possible that the arrest of

the men could be accomplished without a fight. They regretted that it should be so but that would not prevent their siding with their own people when it came to a difference between Red and White. Again, the two culprits were distinguished as "bad-men" and when they repeatedly said and asseverated that they would not be taken without resistance everybody believed them because there was a great chance of it happening, and the result would be war. Even with their failure to implement their word when the time came, so great was the tension, so high the excitement during the hunt and arrest, that the slightest thing would have turned the balance from peace to war. To do the chiefs justice, they knew that a breach of the peace would neither suit their purposes nor advance their interest and, even had they wished, they could not have helped the police more than they did.

Our sleep that night was neither deep nor long. In the early dawn we were wakened by thundering on the door of the shack. Indians, armed in all sorts of ways, demanded their share of the grub that was being distributed. These had been overlooked the evening before as they had gone home early to avoid trouble; they were good Indians, or any other consideration that they thought would serve their turn. In any case, they thought it devolved on me to repair such unfortunate omissions and cement the friendship that had been disturbed by those two bad actors. If I failed to snatch at the chance thus spread before me it was quite possible that the influence of these well inclined people might not be thrown on the side of harmony. And then the responsibility would be mine. And so on. No sooner would one party go away disgusted at getting nothing than their places would be taken by others and all the arguments would be rehearsed. I told them all that the provisions were not mine. Crozier might give but I had not any authority to do so. They tried intimidation when persuasion failed. They could take it if I would not give it. Crozier meant them to have it as well as the others. But when I told them that they might

take the food if they felt that way they showed no inclination to do so. This lasted till late at night but the store was still intact. None the less, it was harrowing and it might become worse. Next morning my brother and his partner had got their fill of it and resolved to start back to town. They pressed me to go with them but I could never have faced Crozier if I had allowed myself to be frightened away after having successfully repelled the main surprise attack and, much as I disliked the job and called myself a fool for taking the risk, I resolved to stay and see the thing through. At the worst, the Indians could only take the store. So my companions left for town and I rode off to interview Little Pine. I told him the siege I was undergoing at the storehouse and explained that the place stood a good chance of being rifled unless he could interpose his authority and keep the ravening people away. He said that his power extended no further than his own band and, that in a case like this, even authority might well prove futile. The goods were too far away for his protection to be effective. He suggested that the provisions be moved up to his reserve; they would be under somebody's eye continually and not likely to be molested. I quite agreed. The Poundmaker store, with nobody around, almost invited raiding. He procured several ox teams and before night closed in we had all the provisions stowed away safely in the new storehouse and the key in Little Pine's charge.

I had no further trouble. The Indians -- Poundmaker's, Big Bear's and Lucky Man's -- were still camped round the site of the dance and, though many fish were obtained from the baskets in the river, yet they gradually grew fewer and the Indians hungrier. The chiefs could find no way of accomplishing their project of concentration; the word had gone forth that when they dispersed to their several reserves and resumed work they would be fed, so one by one they accepted the inevitable and went home. The action of their people forced the hands of the head men, if they would not be deserted and lose influence.

About a week elapsed before the Agent ventured to make enquiry as to how things were going, and then the messenger was an Indian from another reserve. This was not on account of absence of anxiety but rather of there being too much of it. Wild rumors were in circulation as to the doings of the Indians. They were killing cattle; they were prowling round the adjacent country, scaring the settlers; and so on. They were terribly frightened. The Agent did not think it safe to trust a messenger among the Indians. But when he did send, the messenger reported all quiet. The excitement was all over; the seething had subsided. Within two weeks of the arrest of the two offenders Big Bear was on his disconsolate way to Onion Lake, where land had been assigned his band, while the rest of the Indians had gone to their several homes.

Reviewing this episode, I am not sure that I have done justice to the points that emphasize the narrow margin by which about three hundred of us escaped death and the country a catastrophe that would have stained the land with blood. The Indians expected trouble, though most of them were anything but anxious for it, because there was a considerable element that desired nothing better, and who could be relied upon to help it along. Everything hung on two points—the resistance of the man who was to be arrested and the unguarded action of the first Law of Nature in some fearful soul during that arrest. Both points failed. There was the chance of bluffing the police. Just the summer before a band of Indians down Touchwood way had successfully stood off the officers of the law who tried to make an arrest and had still persisted in contumacy against a Division and two guns. The Indians practically gained their point and forced negotiation. This incident appeared as an event to the Indians amongst whom it was quickly broadcast. But in that conflict they did not have an opponent like Crozier.

But, after all, this row should never have started. The man who cannot exercise patience and forbearance in full

measure should never have any dealings with Indians, much less be placed in charge of them. For over a hundred years men in the Hudson's Bay service had charge of lone posts and dealt with these Indians, from the far north to Oregon, and no one has ever heard of them being assaulted. The Indian by nature is calm and deliberate. He never acts on impulse. But when he wants anything he is certainly persevering, and his persistence is extremely aggravating. In the present case, if the Indian had understood all the Instructor was saying to him, the assault would have taken place sooner. Besides all which, the trouble was all over a few pounds of flour. The game was not worth the candle.



John Guthrie was born in Ireland in 1860 in the County of Tipperary. Here his education and training for business life was gained. He left Ireland at the age of twenty and settled in New York for a few years, earning his living as cobbler. Sporting was in his veins. The plains of Western Canada called him. He joined his uncle Richard at Battleford in 1883. This uncle had served under Colonel Wolseley in the Red River Rebellion. John Guthrie had hoped to enter business here as the new town of Battleford was the Police headquarters and the C. P. R. was to build into it. However, business was poor and the police force offered him an attractive living. Twenty-one years of service in this locality is a fine record. During this long period Constable Guthrie has had many experiences, especially those gained while under Major Crozier. He was at Poundmaker's Reserve the day of Big Bear's Thirst Dance. He served at Ft. Carlton, Duck Lake, Prince Albert when it was in a state of siege and took part in that famous Green Lake Expedition to head off Big Bear. Constable Guthrie can give the pioneer life in this locality. In March 1926 the following story was related:—

INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION

AS RELATED BY JOHN GUTHRIE

Here now in June of 1884 is the situation: 2000 armed and dissatisfied Indians were holding a Thirst Dance. The handful of soldiers a few miles away are watching what will happen next under Big Bear's guidance.

Instructor Craig, of Poundmaker's Reserve, was beaten by an Indian because no food had been given to him. Craig refused the Indian food because he would not work. (This was the match-to-set the fire. --If the Indian was to rebel he must do it then.) Craig after his rough handling called on the police to make the arrest but there were too few and word was sent to Battleford for more. Twenty-five police left under Major Crozier and Insp. Antrobus. Const. Guthrie went out also on Wednesday, June 18th. Crozier saw that things looked so bad that Sergt.-Major Kirk and thirty men were called out from Battleford, leaving four or five men to guard the barracks. Thursday, June 19th, some civilian volunteers secured horses and followed the historic trail through the sand hills to Poundmaker's Reserve. A volunteer infantry company was called out to man the barracks. Saddle horses were scarce. A visit was made to a freighter, Johnny Longmore, for horses. Dan. and Rory Finlayson's teams were secured to freight supplies. The intense heat killed one of them. Const. Guthrie left in the morning, June 18th, and arrived there late in the afternoon, when he took guard on an outer piquet. The first police there had built a bastion with logs, earth, oats and flour. Major Crozier commenced negotiations with this angry armed band Thursday for the surrender of the prisoner. All admitted finally that he should be tried. It was difficult to decide where the trial should be held. Both parties finally agreed to hold it at the Instructor's house next day. However, the Indians failed to come. Major Crozier went again to meet them with Interpreter Laronde and the complete force. The Indians suggested that the affair be dismissed but Major Crozier insisted on the arrest. The guilty Indian told his story in final plea but Crozier ordered the man to surrender. The Indian defied Crozier to arrest him. Crozier called four of his men to fall out and make the arrest. Const. Guthrie, one of the four, stepped forward to seize him when the big Indian swung at him and the two clutched, fell and strove for mastery. The

police surrounded the contestants and the mounted men levelled their guns waiting for the Indians to fire. The enraged warriors whooped and galloped about, taunting the police to fire. The Indians desired the police to fire first in order that their case of complaint would be stronger. The Indian was arrested and placed in the Instructor's house. The uproar of the galloping of horses, the shouting, the flourishing of weapons, continued for hours. The intense excitement of this angry mob of 2000 armed Indians gave us a picture of the purpose behind it all, "Who was to be master?" The Indian yielded once and for all to the mastery of the White in the arrest.

It took many hours for the Indian fury to cool. In the meantime the police had their supper of bacon and tea and left for Battleford at ten o'clock at night, reaching the barracks at four in the morning. Major Crozier left Robert Jefferson in charge of the supplies— one man against that band. Jefferson spent an unforgettable night there. In the meanwhile some of the townspeople had gone into the barracks expecting an Indian attack. No word had reached them of the affairs on the reserve, the wires being down. The force returned to a well earned rest. The police had defeated the Indian in a bloodless battle.



William McKay was born in the Touchwood Hills country in 1852. His father, William McKay, served the Hudson's Bay Company at Beaver Lake. From there he went to Fort Pitt in '72, just previous to the smallpox epidemic. The son spent a year in the service of the Company; then engaged in freighting for three years to Green Lake. The Hudson's Bay Company met at Green Lake with Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona) as Chairman of the meeting. The father came from the meeting with the request the son join the Company again. This he did on June 1, 1874, under Grahame as Commissioner. For thirty years he served the Company. He was Chief Clerk at Battleford from 1874 until 1889, but four years of that period was spent at Fort Pitt. William McKay was present at the Fort Carlton Treaty of 1876 and came with Major Crozier to Battleford in 1875 as Interpreter when the Indian chiefs Star Blanket and Mistawasis were interfering with the building of the telegraph line which reached Battleford in 1875. At Battleford, known as Fuller's Bank, then as Telegraph Flat, he heard the telegraph speak the first time and heard the first message from Lieut.-Governor Laird. He was in Battleford during the time the settlers were in the barracks. Later when Middleton went north to search for Big Bear, William McKay was put in charge of some of the scouts. He discovered the late John Pritchard and family escaping with Mrs. Gowanlock and Mrs. Delaney to white friends. During the Indian trials at Battleford in the North-West Council room Wm. McKay served as Interpreter and was with the Indians in the like capacity on the scaffold when the eight murderers were hanged. Mr. and Mrs. McKay reside near Prince Albert.

INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION

AS RELATED BY WILLIAM MCKAY

John Craig was a Scotchman acting as a clerk in the Indian Department on Little Pine's Reserve. It seems that he did not succeed very well with the Indians, particularly when they demanded food. Man-that-speaks-our-language called for food, begging that he had been ill. Craig bundled him out of the store very roughly. The Indian resisted to the extent of using an axe handle on him. The clerk in his anger called for the police to arrest him.

A few police were camped near, watching the activities of Big Bear who had come down from his reserve to hold a Thirst Dance. The police found that it would not be safe to attempt an arrest just then and sent for aid.

Major Crozier arrived on the scene with more men but deemed it advisable to wait until the big dance was over and in the meantime called for more police. Battleford sent out almost every available man, leaving only four in barracks. In the meantime all available stores were moved from Little Pine's Reserve to Poundmaker's Reserve and a bastion built just at the foot of the high hill overlooking a plain bordered on the other side by Cut Knife Creek. Some Battleford civilians and some settlers moved into the barracks and waited anxiously for word from Major Crozier. When it did not come Sup't. Gisborne, of the government telegraph service, sent some more men up the telegraph line to get in touch with Major Crozier and tap the wire to send news to Battleford. Next morning all gathered at the telegraph office to hear the expected word. The anxiety was great as the various rumors terrified the people. From my house (that built by J. A. Mackay, the famous missionary) I drove to the office and waited. The only message that came was that shots could be heard in the vicinity of Little Pine Reserve. I said to Gisborne, "I am getting sick of this sort of

thing. I am going right up there to see. I will get definite news". Gisborne said, "If you really mean it, I am going too". I returned to the house to get something to eat and to get the rig. My wife was assured that I would return before sunrise next morning if not killed. It was a hot day in June to cover a distance of forty miles through the sandhills. We found at Poundmaker's Reserve everyone except Major Crozier and Interpreter Laronde, who were with the Indians. After having something to eat I went out and happened to meet Chief Little Pine. I asked him what were they doing but received no definite answer. With fresh horses Gisborne and I drove the few miles to Little Pine's. Before we got to Cut Knife Creek we saw a double police rig coming containing Crozier and Laronde. He asked me where I was going and I told him to find out all that was happening as the Battleford people were getting very anxious. He told me not to go any further as the Indians were coming down with the bad Indian. I turned and drove back with the Major to where the police were. However, Major Crozier decided to wait at a certain point until the Indians appeared. They came to a knoll west of the police post and waited. I drove up to them while they were discussing. Poundmaker said, "As you will not give up this man, I will go down alone and surrender myself sooner than blood be shed. I will go alone". Big Bear said that he would go also. They started down. I decided to follow and left Gisborne in the rig. The two chiefs entered the building but in a short time came out. Poundmaker said, "They do not want me. Well, they will not get me so easy next time". I said, "That is not the way. We must have the man who committed the deed". At this time a message was sent to me by Inspector Antrobus, asking me to keep the chiefs talking as long as possible.

I said I did not wish to decoy anyone and would be frank with the chiefs. Meantime Poundmaker saw some unusual activity among the police. So he and Big Bear rushed

back to the Indian line. Crozier rode out with his Mounted Police and volunteers and lined up facing the west and the mass of armed Indians. I drove up to take a position in the south between the forces at the extreme end. Big Bear's eldest son came to me and said, "You take one side or the other". I said, "I am going to see what happens". The son said, "There will be much blood shed to-day". I said, "That will be news for me". He replied, "You talk to the Indians". Inspector Antrobus rode up and told me that Major Crozier wished to speak to me. I walked between the lines to where the Major stood facing the chiefs. He asked me to interpret for him. I said I could not interpret as well as Laronde but he overruled my objections, saying, "I prefer you to do it". I agreed. Crozier and I went nearer and I called the Indian to come out. He came out with three or four others and said he would not surrender, even though the chiefs desired it. I then said, "There is a law in this land and always will be. You have been accused of striking an official and taking food. You should be tried and punished. You will have a fair trial and you will not be hanged. See the trouble you are causing the Indians and police. Step out and say that you will go and stand your trial. It will be over in a short time". The man stepped forth and said that he would not be arrested. I spoke to Major Crozier. "Now is the time; arrest him." Crozier said, "Do you think so?" I answered, "Yes". The command was given to the police to fall out and make the arrest. The Indian attempted to flee but the police seized him while the other police closed around. The suddenness of the arrest surprised the Indians. The Indian was hemmed in by police too quick for them to see. The Indians expected more negotiation and more resistance on the bad Indian's part but he was snatched from their sight so quickly that it unnerved them. When the Indians realized just what had happened without a shot being fired the painted mob flew around the police, yelling like madmen as they dashed their ponies hither and thither hop-

ing to terrify the police to fire. I walked up and down the centre commanding the Indians not to fire. Their old men likewise commanded them. Everything was done except firing a gun. Here and there a policeman was disarmed and even Poundmaker secured a fine rifle instead of the ugly club for a weapon. It is said that the club was to be used on Inspector Antrobus for his handling of an Indian affair a short time previous to this when the Indian race was insulted in Battleford.

Poundmaker, in breech-cloth and head gear, boasted to me about his new rifle. I said, "You must give it back. It belongs to the Queen. It is not a policeman's. Give it to me". While I was talking to him I heard that some Indians had a prisoner. It was Laronde who had been cut off, which was the Indian method of fighting there, namely, to force police out of the ranks and steal from them and attempt to make them prisoners. I saw Laronde in their power and asked them to leave him alone. "He is but a servant here and must obey orders of the Queen and he had to assist in the arrest." They let him go. Laronde asked to be allowed to go in the rig with Gisborne but the latter said he was going to stay with William McKay until he was through. Poundmaker said that he would surrender a rifle, a revolver and a belt, if McKay would do what he wanted him to do. He said that Crozier had promised the Indians a feed if the Indian surrendered. Would McKay go down ask, but I said I would not go down unless Poundmaker gave me the captured articles first. An Indian, Miserable Man, offered to substitute a flintlock in place of the police rifle but Poundmaker refused and decided to hand them over. I went now to the rig with them and drove down.

I went inside to speak to Major Crozier as he hurried around getting ready for the departure. I offered him the stolen equipment. A policeman took them away. Major Crozier wheeled around to attend to business. "Hold on", I said, "I have a message. Are you going to give the Indians

the feed which you promised?" "What, after resisting arrest so long?" he said, but I replied, "There were plenty of Indians who tried to prevent the shooting; not all were crazy. If you made a promise keep it; if you did not, do not give them a d---n thing". He answered, "Those on our side may come down in two's. It is getting late". I drove back to Poundmaker and gave the message, "Those who do not want trouble may go down in two's". I then warned Crozier that they were coming. Major Crozier called, "Now McKay, handle the grub". I picked out the good Indians and the food was given to them until the Little Pine supplies were exhausted. In this line of upwards of one hundred Indians appeared the partner of the bad Indian, and he too was recognized, seized and bundled away. That evening the police party took the historic trail for Battleford but no Indians followed.

A few days later Big Bear's son Ah-yim-is-see's, who led the Frog Lake massacre, appeared in town with a police revolver and belt and surrendered them with this message, "The Indians want McKay, Crozier and Indian Agent Rae to come up without any policemen". Major Crozier asked me what I thought of the message. I said, "They wish to make friends". Rae refused to go at first, saying that the Indians wished them to be decoyed into trouble. A time was arranged and the three officials started for Little Pine's alone. It was late when we arrived and no Indians could be seen. With difficulty they made their way to the wooded part and found a camp. Big Bear was notified and all the leading men gathered in the tepee. Major Crozier ordered them to tell their business quickly. Their message was that they were sorry about the affair; that they wished to be friends and forget the affair. Major Crozier consented. All shook hands and the Indians received the gift of tobacco.

I remember an incident which happened in Battleford previous to Big Bear's Thirst Dance. The Indians came to Battleford and camped on the Government hill near the

Indian Office, then begging dances would be held before the stores and homes. On this occasion Inspector Antrobus was riding by. His horse became terrified and bolted to the barracks, causing him to lose his helmet. The next day Inspector Antrobus and Indian Agent Rae came to the Hudson's Bay store and asked me to go up and talk to the Indians. We went. The Inspector asked for the head chief. Big Bear appeared. The Inspector said that he would talk to him alone and so told him how the Indians had purposely vexed him. Finally, he ordered them to the trails in half an hour's time or they would be arrested. This excited the Indians. One Indian said that they would be shot before arrested. Another said to him, "You disgrace that fine uniform because you are shaking with fear". In face of these insults the Inspector jumped into the rig and left. "What do you think of it, McKay?" I replied, "You make damn fools of yourselves the way you talk to Indians".

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE
NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE FOR 1884

(Sessional Paper No. 153, 1885.)

Soon after midnight, on the 28th June, report was made to the officer commanding at Battleford by Corp. Sleigh, of the detachment at Poundmaker's Reserve, that an Indian had assaulted Instructor Craig, of the Indian Department; that he had followed the offender to the camp where a large number of Indians had congregated for their annual Sun Dance; that the chiefs to whom he made application had refused to deliver him up; and that the attitude of the Indians generally was so threatening that he thought it would be imprudent to attempt the arrest with the small number of men he had with him; he therefore reported the matter to Superintendent Crozier, Commanding "D" Division.

The gist of the complaint, as subsequently represented to Superintendent Crozier by the Indians, was that Mr. Craig had refused to give the Indian some flour which he asked for and had "shoved" him, on which he had struck the Indian Department official.

Superintendent Crozier, with Inspector Antrobus and a detachment of twenty-five men, accompanied by the Indian Agent, proceeded at 9 a.m. of the same day to the camp. Leaving the detachment at a distance, he went with Mr. Rae and two men to endeavor to identify and arrest the offender but, as he was not to be seen and the Indians would give no information or assistance, he retired; and subsequently, at Mr. Rae's suggestion, decided not to attempt the arrest until the conclusion of the Sun Dance. In the meantime, in consequence of the behaviour and temper of the Indians he sent to Battleford for re-inforcements and moved to the old Agency building, about three miles east of the camp, to await their arrival, taking with him the Indian Department stores and some cattle.

"On passing the camp and medicine lodge," he says, "the Indians made a tremendous demonstration, riding through and about the camp, firing off their rifles and shouting. They did not fire at us; at least, their bullets went into the air and over our heads." The old buildings were put in such a state of defence as the circumstances permitted and the party waited until the morning of the 20th, the re-inforcements having arrived and the Sun Dance having been brought to a conclusion the previous evening. Superintendent Crozier now recommenced the negotiations which finally resulted in the apprehension of the offender. As far as he could judge, the chiefs, including Big Bear, did all in their power to cause the guilty man to be given up to justice, notwithstanding that they deemed their influence with the bucks insufficient for the purpose, and it would seem that they were acting in good faith, from the following extract of Superintendent Crozier's report:—"The chiefs at last agreed to deliver the prisoner to me at the place where we were quartered and there let him take his trial; but on arriving within half a mile of the buildings, on the top of a hill, though the chiefs, Big Bear and Poundmaker, came with me to the house, the men refused to come further. Up to this time I did not know the prisoner; I only knew that he was in the party. Seeing that negotiations for the voluntary surrender of the prisoner were no longer of avail, I gave orders to Inspector Antrobus to bring up to the hill where the Indians were, the riders and footmen (not having horses for all) and explained the position they were respectively to take up.

"I went ahead with my interpreter and Craig to identify the prisoner, not having taken Craig before to avoid annoying the Indians. I had been among them but a few minutes when the police were seen by the Indians coming up and they began to scatter and get themselves into position. The Indians by this time were intensely excited and making the most threatening and indescribable noises. Some of the older ones, including Big Bear, shouted, "Peace, Peace!"

Craig, in the meantime, did not see the prisoner; he had hidden himself. I shouted to the Indians, "Bring me the prisoner or I shall arrest you all, if we have to fight for it."

Lucky Man shortly after brought him to me; this was the first time I had seen him. When I was about to put my hand on him to arrest him, he stepped aside and said, "Don't touch me". The Indians became more excited than ever. I said, "I shall not touch you if you will come with me". This he refused to do. Inspector Antrobus suggested to me that I should ask Mr. Wm. McKay, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was present, to try and induce the prisoner to come along quietly; but he refused to listen to him. When he failed to persuade him, I seized the prisoner, at the same time ordering men to my assistance. The Indians crowded about us, but I had the prisoner surrounded by a strong escort of horse and footmen, then took him struggling to the buildings we had fortified. Superintendent Crozier concluded with a eulogy on the men of his detachment, whose coolness and steadiness were very praiseworthy. With the arrest of the prisoner the excitement wore off, the Indians apparently deeming it expedient to submit to the inevitable.



LIFE OF COLONEL JAMES WALKER

James Walker secured his training as an officer in the Royal School of Gunnery, Kingston, in 1872, under Colonel French, who was given command of the N.W.M.P. Colonel Walker enlisted in this force, and was posted to "D" troop as Sub-Inspector under Inspector Walsh, and consequently was a member of the troop staff. In this capacity he assisted Colonel French in his recruiting and purchasing of supplies. To him was given the general supervision of the 300 horses on the journey from Toronto to Dufferin. At Dufferin occurred that famous stampede of 300 horses. It was Colonel Walker's duty to round up that scattered band which he did though 60 miles had to be travelled to find all. At Dufferin the command of "D" troop was given to him. One of his important duties was to sketch the line of march across the prairie as the command had only a map made by Hector and Palliser often filled in with unreliable information. When the journey to Milk River was completed, and the force had been re-provisioned from Fort Benton, Colonel French and staff, Colonel Walker's troop and Inspector Car-

vell's troop crossed the prairie to the Swan River barracks. When the force arrived there on October 30th it was found that there was insufficient quarters, so Colonel Walker's troop was sent to Dufferin, some five miles from Fort Pembina, North Dakota. This troop had made one of the longest trips on record, over an almost unknown country, by an expedition carrying its own supplies. In the spring of 1875 Colonel Walker's troop returned to Swan River. In 1876, after a trip to the East for recruits, Colonel Walker was ordered to take his troop to Battleford, where barracks were being built and a treaty was to be made with the Cree Indians. Treaties were signed at Carlton, Duck Lake and Fort Pitt. Colonel Walker now had to police the largest white and half-breed population in the Territories with 40 men. Besides this duty he was appointed Acting Indian Agent of Treaty Six. In that year detachments were established at Fort Pitt, Duck Lake, Carlton and Prince Albert. In 1879 the management of the Indians was turned over to the Indian Department and Indian Agents were sent to take charge. The next year Colonel Walker was transferred to Fort Walsh, but shortly after resigned to accept another position after six strenuous and very agreeable years in the force.

INCIDENTS OF INDIAN EVENTS

AS RELATED BY COLONEL WALKER

In the spring of 1875 the staff and my troops moved to Swan River Barracks. We arrived there in July. On the way up I had established several detachments along the route for the purpose of carrying our mail between Winnipeg and Headquarters. The summer of that year General Sir Selby Smyth made a trip through the Territories, and I met him with an escort and transport at Shoal Lake, Manitoba, and sent him west by Fort Carlton. Sergeant John Herron, afterwards M. P. of Pincher Creek, went in charge of the escort. I went east in the spring of 1876 and brought back recruits, horses, and supplies. Part of these I shipped from Duluth to Fort MacLeod by the Missouri River; the balance I took with me to Swan River Barracks. While I was east, it was arranged that I should take my troop from Swan River to Battleford, where barracks were being built. It was also arranged that a treaty would be made that year with the Cree Indians in the Saskatchewan District, and a date was given to me to meet the Treaty Commissioners with an escort at Fort Carlton. Before leaving Swan River Barracks in the spring of 1876, Colonel French resigned from the N.W.M.P. and Assistant Commissioner MacLeod was appointed Commissioner and during that year he abandoned Swan River Barracks and moved the staff troop and staff to Fort MacLeod.

I arrived in Battleford with my supplies in good time and established that post, and then stated with fifty mounted men and light transport wagons to Fort Carlton, arriving there a day previous to the date fixed. On arrival Lawrence Clarke, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Carlton, informed me that the Duck Lake Indians were not going to allow the Treaty Commissioners to cross the South Saskatchewan until the treaty was made. Early next morning I started with my troop to Batoche where I expected the Commissioners would cross the river. When about half way I overtook the Duck Lake Indians, chief and warriors, on the way to Batoche. I think they were the most surprised Indians I ever saw; apparently they did not know we were in that country. The fact that we came behind them from the north bewildered them. I did not stop or pay any attention to them, and shortly afterwards met the Treaty Commissioners and carriages. I informed Lt. Governor Morris of the intended action of the Indians and formed an escort round the carriages and, when passing the Indian chief and warriors, the chief shook hands with the Lieutenant-Governor and welcomed him to the country, and no attempt was made to stop the Commissioners. We then went to Carlton where the Commissioners were quartered during the week of the making of the treaty. Some days later, Commissioner MacLeod and Superintendent Jarvis arrived bringing a further escort from Swan River. The Duck Lake Indians refused to go to Carlton to sign the treaty and the Commissioners met them half way and got their signatures before leaving for Fort Pitt.

After the treaty was signed at Carlton and Duck Lake the Commissioners and police went to Fort Pitt where the treaty was negotiated and signed by the Cree Indians at that point. The Treaty Commissioners then returned to Winnipeg.

Commissioner MacLeod and Superintendent Jarvis and troop went south to Fort Walsh taking with them Sub-Inspector Dickens and ten men and their horses of my troop, leaving me with Sub-Inspector French, Surgeon Millar and forty other ranks to police the largest white and half-breed settlement in the Territories and for three years I was Acting Indian Agent for about one-third the Indian population, and,

as it turned out about one-half of these Indians were the most treacherous rebels in the Territories. In addition to my police duties I was appointed "Acting Indian Agent of Treaty Six." During that year I established police detachments at Fort Pitt, Duck Lake, Carlton and Prince Albert and was able in this way to keep in touch with all parts of the district.

When I was making the treaty payments in 1877, the Duck Lake Indians claimed they had made a separate treaty and were promised better terms than the other Cree Indians. I tried to convince them they had not done so, but they were not satisfied.

Next year when I was leaving Battleford to make the treaty payments Lt. Governor Laird, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, thinking that he could convince the Indians they were getting all they were entitled to, went with me to Duck Lake. We were received by the chief and Indians in a large council tent. After Governor Laird explained the treaty to them one of the head men told him they did not believe him and the Lieutenant Governor lost his temper and left the council tent, saying "I will not listen to such talk." Some of the Indians got between him and the tent opening and I shoved them aside, and the Lieutenant-Governor left for Carlton where he was staying. I then told the Indians that they had insulted the Queen's representative and should be punished but I was still ready to give them everything the treaty they had signed promised. A few of the old people came and received the treaty money, but the chief and his head men and most of his following refused. I told them they would receive no rations, and that I had arranged to make the payments in Prince Albert next day, and would pay them when they informed they were willing to take what the treaty promised.

I issued a very liberal supply of rations and presents to those who had taken the treaty money but gave nothing to the others and returned to Carlton where I was staying. That night I was called out of bed about midnight, as Governor Laird wanted to see me. Going into his room he handed me a letter he had received from Mr. Hughes, Stobart's agent at Duck Lake, stating that the Indians, after I had left them had gone into his store and demanded the Indian supplies and were going

to take them. He had then persuaded them to wait till morning and he would write a letter for them to Lt. Governor Laird. This letter was to the effect that if the Indian supplies were not given to them by sunrise next morning they were going to take them. I told the Lieut. Governor not to lose any sleep over the letter as I would be in Duck Lake before sunrise and I was satisfied that I could settle the matter. I only had a sergeant and two troopers with me and warned them to be ready at daybreak to proceed to Duck Lake. In the morning we arrived at Mr. Hughes' store at Duck Lake in good time and found Mr. Hughes and his staff up, expecting trouble. We had not long to wait, as the Indians had started from their camp about a mile away, half naked and all togged up in war paint, about one hundred of them armed and mounted. They came up the road singing war songs, riding around in circles and lying on the sides of their horses, shooting under the horses' necks. The stores were inside of the stockade and Mr. Hughes wanted to shut the gates, but I asked him not to, as I wanted all the Indians inside. When they were all inside I came out of the office with my three men fully armed with revolvers and rifles. I posted these men on three sides of the stores where the Indian supplies were, and took the Indian interpreter with me to the chief Beardy and told him he had sent a very bad letter to the Queen's representative. He had said his Indians were going to take the Indian supplies out of the store here unless they were given to them before sunrise. I told him I was there to see that they did not take them and that my men had orders to put bullets through the first man who attempted to go into the store and they would do as I advised. The chief wilted at once, said they would do nothing wrong, that they were good Indians and would do as I advised them. I had taken the treaty money with me and paid the Indians there and then, giving them their present and rations to return to their camp. Thus ended what might have been the Duck Lake rebellion some years before it really happened.

The disturbing element of Duck Lake district was the French half-breeds headed by Gabriel Dumont. He was afterwards Riel's lieutenant during the rebellion of 1885. These half-breeds claimed to have several grievances against the

Canadian Government and I had them watched closely all the time I was in command of that district. Sergeant Kennon had charge of the Duck-Lake detachment; he could speak French and Cree and was given instructions to attend all entertainments and meetings of importance, and reported to me frequently. One report I remember was that Gabriel Dumont had stated at a public meeting after church at the time the Sioux Indians came across the line, that the half-breeds would join the Crees and Blackfeet and Sioux Indians to drive the whites out of the country.

In 1877, after the Custer massacre, the Sioux Indians crossed into Canada and a number of them went on to Prince Albert. This was the largest white settlement west of Manitoba at that time. These settlers and other settlers along the North and South Saskatchewan became very much alarmed and appealed to me for protection. Some of them had boats built to take them down the river if there was trouble. I had frequent interviews with these Indians and told them that they were refugees here and would have to keep the peace and work for a living, as our Government could not feed them and there were no buffalo in that part of the country. They promised faithfully to be good and went to work for the settlers; almost every settler had a tepee with a Sioux family near them. The squaws did washing and chores round the house and the Indians cut wood and did outside work; many of them engaged with the Hudson's Bay Company and cut cord wood along the river for the steamboats. I have heard lately that some of those Sioux families are still in that country and have been given land by the Government.

In 1877 the date had been fixed by the Indian Department, Ottawa, for all Cree Indians in the Carlton district to meet at Carlton to receive their treaty payments and presents. The Department had arranged for provisions to feed them to be delivered at Carlton and the treaty money was to be sent to me from Winnipeg. When I arrived at Carlton on the date fixed over one thousand Indians had assembled and had nothing to eat—neither supplies nor treaty money had arrived. I immediately ordered two days' supplies from the Hudson's Bay Company to be given them and returned to Battleford and

reported the situation to Lieutenant-Governor Laird. He approved of my action and I returned to Carlton, making the round trip of two hundred miles in forty-eight hours. I continued to feed the Indians from the Hudson's Bay supplies for nearly a week and received the treaty money from T. P. Wadsworth, of the Indian Department. Sometime afterwards I received a wire from the Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, asking on what authority I had contracted this large account with the Hudson's Bay Co. I answered I had done so to keep treaty promises to the Indians and had reported fully to Lieutenant Governor Laird, Indian Commissioner.

One action of mine I shall always look back to with a great deal of satisfaction was when I disobeyed orders from Ottawa and built a stockade round the Battleford Barracks. During the winter of 1877 a large number of Indians congregated in Battleford and had to be fed and, after consulting with Governor Laird, we decided they should do some work for the rations they were receiving. I suggested that a stockade round the Police Barracks might be needed sometime and that they should cut poplar poles in the Eagle Hills to build the stockade; and this was agreed to. I had my Police teams deliver the poles on the ground and I had Indians and prisoners dig the trenches and set up the poles. When I reported to Ottawa what I had done, I received a reply that my action was not approved and that I must not incur any expense chargeable to the department. I thought I knew more about the situation and the work went on and, after I left Battleford, the stockade was completed. During the rebellion of 1885 when Chief Poundmaker and his Indians raided the settlement and burned the Indian Agency and other Government and private buildings at Battleford some four hundred women and children found refuge inside of this stockade in danger of famine and massacre, until they were relieved by General Otter on his arrival with troops from Swift Current.

In the summer of 1878 most of the Battleford and Fort Pitt treaty Indians were out hunting near Soundng Lake and asked to have annual treaty payments made there. Chief Big Bear with a band of non-treaty Indians and some American Indians were also in that country. Governor Laird, Indian Com-

missioner, fixed a date to meet the Indians at Sounding Lake and asked Big Bear and his band to be there; he hoped to get their adhesion to the treaty. As Big Bear and his followers had refused to sign the Treaty at Fort Pitt in 1876 and had always been a disturbing element, Governor Laird asked me to take all my troops available; he also had a detachment of police sent over from Fort Walsh. I paid all the Treaty Indians there and attended Governor Laird at several meetings he had with Big Bear and his followers, but Big Bear would not sign the Treaty and never did sign. One consideration he insisted on was that there was to be no hanging. He must have had a premonition of what was to happen; as some of his band were afterwards hanged for leading the rebellion at Fort Pitt in 1885. The last night we were in camp at Sounding Lake, some of Big Bear's Indians started shooting bullets over the tents of the Commissioner and Police. I took a detachment of Police to Big Bear's tepee and told him the shooting had to stop, and if there was any more of it I would arrest him and take him into Battleford. There was no more shooting and we started for Battleford the next day.

In 1879 the management of the Indians was turned over to the Indian Department and Indian Agents were sent to take charge. I was given leave to visit Eastern Canada in 1880 but before my leave had expired I was called to Ottawa and was informed that Lt.-Colonel Dewdney, the Indian Commissioner, wanted me to accompany him on his tour of inspection of all the Indian Agents that were west of Winnipeg. He also wanted me to make the Indian payments at Fort Pitt, as the Indians at that point had given the Indian Agent trouble the year before. I met the Lieutenant-Governor in Winnipeg about the first of July and was given a large box containing \$100,000 in one dollar bills. This I was to be responsible for and distribute to the different Indian Agents west of Winnipeg. This I did, and paid the Fort Pitt Indians while passing through. They were glad to see me back again and gave me no trouble.

These Indians and the Battleford and Duck Lake band were always troublesome and required to be firmly handled. But the main band of the Crees were a superior lot and were always thankful for what was being done for them and always

wanted to be assisted and advised as to planting and working their gardens, as the buffalo herds had then disappeared and they were compelled to change their mode of living. I was made an Indian chief at one of their meetings and was given the name of "Pee-tee-quack-kee", meaning "the eagle that protects". I was always careful to give them everything that the treaty called for and sometimes a little more and it was this little more that pleased them most.

It had been arranged in 1880 that a general exchange of police officers was to take place. Superintendent Herchmer was to take over the Battleford district and I was to be transferred to Fort Walsh. During the time I was in charge of the Battleford district it was a separate command; I reported direct to the Comptroller at Ottawa, and received my orders and supplies as well as pay cheques from there. After I distributed all the Indian money I arrived at Fort Walsh in September to take over my command. Captain Clark, adjutant and paymaster of the N.W.M.P., died at Fort Walsh a few days after my arrival and I was directed by Assistant-Commissioner Ivime to accompany Captain Clark's widow to Ottawa. Some time after my arrival in Ottawa I was sent for by Sir John A. McDonald. He informed me that Senator Cochrane proposed starting a large cattle ranch in the west and would offer me the position as manager. He also said he did not wish me to leave the Police Force unless I was to receive a much better position and salary. I accepted this position and sent in my resignation from the N.W.M.P. after a very strenuous and, in some ways very agreeable, six years' service.

LIEUT.-GOV. LAIRD'S REPORT TO THE MINISTER
OF THE INTERIOR.

Government House,

Battleford, N. W. T.,

30th June, 1879

Sir:—

I have the honour to again call your attention to the state of affairs in the Territories. The outlook is far from satisfactory. As the summer advanced it was hoped that herds of buffalo would come north from the United States. With respect to what is transpiring near the International Boundary, I have obtained no recent information; but Indians who have lately arrived here from the Plains report that scarcely a buffalo can be found north of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan Rivers. One of these Indians hailed a party of Blackfeet across the Red Deer and the information he received was that buffalo were equally scarce between that stream and the Bow River.

Some bands of Indians who have gone out from here and other posts to hunt have not met a buffalo; others have fallen in with from one to six. A few antelope are sometimes found but in general the parties of hunters, after using their utmost exertions, have to return in two or three weeks to the Settlements for assistance. For the last two months, on an average, about one thousand Indians have frequented this place, and I hear that in all the Settlements along the Saskatchewan there are Indians begging for food. Some of them when supplied with ammunition are able to secure a little game, such as wild ducks and geese, and in the Battle River, fortunately, fish were plentiful for the greater part of May and June. Their women also are at work early and late every day, digging wild turnips and gathering berries. Upon the whole, therefore, the Indians are undoubtedly making laudable efforts not to be a burden upon the Government.

Mr. Dickieson, the Acting Indian Superintendent, has had to give considerable assistance to the destitute. Quite possibly many of the settlers on the Saskatchewan think he has not been sufficiently liberal in his distributions. But his position is a difficult one. Flour is about the only food that can now be

procured in the country; and for this place it has all to be brought from Prince Albert. As large parties came in here unexpectedly, he has to exercise caution in not allowing his supply to run out. Besides, if the pressure of the last few weeks continues, there is a doubt whether the stock of flour in hand at Prince Albert will hold out until the new crop is ready for consumption. On these grounds, I am of opinion that Mr. Dickieson has acted prudently (aside from the question of expense and the importance of teaching the Indians self-reliance) in being careful in distributing provisions. Greater economy, however, it would not have been safe to exercise. Notwithstanding the assistance the Indians receive from the Government stores, they are continually begging around among the settlers, their craving for animal food is so great that they hope to procure morsels by going from house to house. People around here have generally no cattle except a few cows to supply their families with milk. The Mounted Police have barely sufficient oxen to supply themselves with beef for the summer, and as bacon or pork has, as yet, only been brought in limited quantities into the Territories, it has been impossible for the Indian Office to supply the destitute with meat to any extent.

On the 26th instant, all the Chiefs encamped here and their principal men waited on me and Mr. Dickieson to represent their case. They particularly asked to be allowed some beef and bacon. I explained to them that the assemblage of so many Indians here at this time of the year had been unforeseen; that I considered Mr. Dickieson was doing as well for them as they had a right to expect; that very little bacon or beef could be procured here; that the cattle intended for the annuity payments had not yet arrived and therefore they should not think that they were unfairly treated. Their requests were made in a perfectly proper manner, though it was rumored before the interview that some threats would be indulged in and that Police cattle would be killed if no meat were supplied them. Thinking possibly that a feast would help to make them contented with the explanations offered, Mr. Dickieson gave them an ox and some other supplies. They retired apparently satisfied and have since been remarkably quiet. Altogether their

conduct, considering their destitute condition, is more creditable than would be displayed by most men in civilized communities if suffering want to a like extent.

The prospect for the coming winter is gloomy indeed. The crops in the Territories, at present, promise well; should they, however, fail, the suffering from famine will be great. But even if the crops be good, there will be a great scarcity of animal food in the country, unless supplies are sent forward. Mr. Dickieson has consulted with me in regard to the quantities which he thinks will be necessary and, having read his letters to the Department, I am of opinion that he has not overstated the case.

Should frost or any other blight affect the grain crops in the settlements, the winter sets in so early in this country, that the utmost despatch would be required to get flour or other food forwarded before the open season closed. If any such calamity should happen, I will endeavour to communicate with you by telegraph at the earliest moment.

Disquieting rumours in regard to Sitting Bull's actions have reached here by the way of Qu'Appelle. It is reported that his men have made a plundering raid across the boundary and, on Major Walsh remonstrating with him, he ordered that Officer out of his camp.

I do not attach much importance to this report; but, if it be true, the defenceless state of the settlements in the Territories will demand your early attention. In any case, it appears to me the Police Force should be increased at the northern parts and some little attempt should be made at fortification. The barracks here consist of a number of scattered buildings without any arrangement whatever. There ought to be some kind of a stockade or enclosure to offer a little protection in case of a sudden raid of Sioux or a rising of our own Indians, should want drive them to desperation during the autumn and winter. Such a provision may be necessary for the protection of food stores until they can be distributed in rations from day to day. The state of this country for the next year or so is likely to be such that every precaution of the kind I have indicated ought to be taken without delay. You will, therefore, I trust, give the subject your early attention.

Further, I deem it unfortunate that there is no regular means of communication between this place and Fort Walsh. In December last I sent a letter to the Honorable the Postmaster-General, urging upon him the importance of establishing postal communication between Cypress Hills and Battleford but I see no provisions in the estimates for such a purpose. I believe it would be economy on the part of the government were the Mounted Police and Indian branches of the service to conjointly undertake to keep up communication between the North and the South of the Territories until other arrangements can be made.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) David Laird,

Lieutenant-Governor N. W. T.

LIEUT.-GOV. LAIRD'S ADVICE TO THE INDIAN
AGENT AT CARLTON.

Government House, Battleford,

31st October 1879

Sir:—

I have been informed today by two of the magistrates of Prince Albert, Messrs. Mair and MacKay, that some of the Teton Sioux recently arrived at that settlement, are giving trouble at the houses of the settlers and that they have killed some cattle belonging to people in the neighbourhood. It is presumed that these Sioux are committing such unlawful acts from want or destitution.

I have advised Mr. Quinn, of the Indian Office here, who is a good Sioux interpreter, to proceed at once to Prince Albert with Major Walker of the Police Force at this station. It will be your duty to accompany him to Prince Albert and endeavour to have an interview with the leading men of the Sioux. They must be firmly but kindly informed that they are doing very wrong to molest the settlers or their property. They should be cautioned that the killing of cattle and such like acts will be sure to cause trouble. If they are in real want, they should apply to the Government Agents, who will give them

some assistance, if it be found that they cannot procure food by hunting or labour.

All the supplies that Mr. Dewdney contracted for and authorized you to purchase are for starving Indians. Of course it was expected that Canadian Indians alone would apply for help but Indians destitute of food, if amongst our people, should receive some help, otherwise they will be tempted to help themselves. The common dictates of humanity should impel the Government to see that no one dies of starvation near our settlement, if food can be procured.

If the Sioux can be induced to leave the Settlement and go to some of the fishing lakes: it will be well to give them supplies to go, and twine or nets. But I fear that it will not be easy to induce them to leave before the spring.

It will perhaps be well to give them a little ammunition for hunting purposes; but very little should be allowed them at one time, and no ball or cartridges.

As these Sioux will probably require frequent attention during the winter, I would suggest that you take up your residence at Prince Albert. Any help that requires to be given to Indians around Carlton, can be done, I imagine through arrangement with the Hudson Bay Company officer at that post.

Major Walker, who is proceeding to Prince Albert, has some experience in dealing with the Sioux. You should do well to act in concert with him and, after the interview, in which it will probably be well to let him take the leading part, you, I think, will be perfectly safe in carrying out any course which you may jointly think necessary, consistent with the scope of this letter.

By all means let every expedient or reasonable assistance to the Indians on behalf of the Government be exhausted before an open breach be permitted between the Indians and the settlers. When once serious trouble or war breaks out with the Indians there is no knowing where it may end.

I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

(Sgd.) David Laird,

Lieutenant-Governor.



The City of Belleville, Ontario, has given a number of men of prominence to Canada, among whom were Major General Lief Newry Fitzroy Crozier; General J. Lyons Biggar; Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Premier of Canada; Sir Gilbert Parker, Bart; Hon. Louis Wallbridge, Hon. Hector M. Howell, both Chief Justices of Manitoba; Hon. Mr. Justice Phippen; John Bell, Q. C., Chief Counsel, Grand Trunk Railway Company; W. H. Biggar, K. C., President of the Grand Trunk Railway Company; W. D. Robb, Vice-President of the Canadian National Railway.

This was perhaps to be expected because Belleville was one of those places that was settled originally by the United Empire Loyalists, who fought through an eight year war, broke the ties of friendship and family, gave up comfortable homes, forsook opportunities for advancement in the new Republic, and came to old Upper Canada when it was a wilderness. Such sacrifices were indeed an inspiration to the residents of this place to do great deeds.

Lief N. F. Crozier was born at Newry, Northern Ireland,

June 11th, 1846, died February 25th, 1901, and is buried in the cemetery at Belleville, Ontario, on the picturesque shores of the historic Bay of Quinte. He was the son of St. George B. Crozier, a Musical Doctor, a former resident of Belleville; who was born at Dover, Eng., May 13th, 1814, died November 21st, 1892, and is buried in the above mentioned cemetery. His mother was Isabella Deacon born at Picton, Ontario, November 8th, 1822, a member of a U. E. Loyalist family that held important military and civil positions at Picton and Kingston in the early days of Upper Canada.

A brother of the late Major Lief N. F. Crozier, was the late Major John A. G. Crozier who served on the Niagara Frontier in 1865, and at Prescott in 1866, and was 53 years in the Crown Lands Department of the Province of Ontario.

Major Lief N. F. Crozier started his military career in the 15th Argyll Light Infantry at Belleville in which he attained the rank of Major, when he retired and joined the North West Mounted Police in 1874. In his younger days he was a clerk in the office of the Registrar of Deeds at Belleville for a number of years.

His late mother and brother, Major John A. G. Crozier, erected a brass tablet in St. Thomas Church, Belleville, to the memory of the late Major Lief N. F. Crozier.

(Signed) W. C. MIKEL.

Sir:—

I am sorry that I have not been able to give the information you asked for regarding Major Crozier before this, but I will as briefly as possible give you what knowledge I had in the early days of my old friend Major L. N. F. Crozier.

We first met in Toronto in August, 1872, at the Old Stone Fort, at which place Lt. Col. French was organizing the first N. W. M. Police. We both had commissions in that force as Sub-Inspectors, Major Crozier being senior, and shortly after becoming Inspector was given command of F Troop, I being Sub-Inspector in the same troop. Crozier and myself soon became fast friends and continued so until he left the force in 1886.

When we first met, if I remember rightly, he told me that his home was Belleville, Ontario, and that he held a commission in a militia regiment at that place as major.

Crozier commanded F Troop on the arduous march to the N. W. Territories in 1874, was at the building of Old Fort MacLeod the fall of that year. He made the first arrest of whiskey traders. Shortly after our start to build the stockade Fort MacLeod, word had come in that a whiskey trading party were camped some thirty miles north of our camp. He took them by surprise and captured the whole party with about 100 gallons of alcohol and many hundred buffalo robes, traded by them to Indians for liquor.

The following year, 1875, Crozier was adjutant at MacLeod. Inspector Brisbois was in command of F Troop at the building of Old Fort Calgary, with myself as second in command. Brisbois left the force the winter of 1875 and in the spring of '76 Crozier came to Calgary in charge of that post. In 1877 he took down F Troop from Calgary to the Blackfoot Crossing, and laid out the camp for use of the Treaty Commissioner and the traders, and the thousands of Indians who took part in the great treaty of '77. While at this treaty word was received that the American government had sent over General Terry to try and negotiate with the Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull, who has come to our side after the Custer ~~disaster~~, for their return to the States. Crozier, together with the Commissioner, Col. Macleod, proceeded to Fort Walsh and Crozier remained at that point until the Sioux surrendered and went south in 1880, or '79, I forget which.

Most of the credit is due Crozier (in spite of much nonsense written giving credit to others) for the able manner in which those thousands of wild and warlike Indians were handled, and for their eventual departure from our country.

Crozier was then in 1881-82 in command at Fort Macleod and in '82 by a stern and bold front took prisoners from the Blackfeet, at the Blackfoot Crossing, which the tribe had refused to give up to Sub-Inspector Dickens. After this I to a great extent lost track of Crozier. His work in the north at Duck Lake and during the rebellion is well known. He was at that time Asst. Commissioner of the N. W. M. Police and on

the retirement of the commissioner, Lt. Col. Irvine and the appointment of an outsider as Commissioner, a great injustice was done, which was felt by the whole force.

Crozier shortly after resigned and I lost track of him for many years. I was in the State of Montana in the late nineties, and remember seeing in some Oklahoma paper mention of some brave work done by him in leading a party against some hostile Indians. Some years afterwards I heard in Montana that Crozier had died suddenly in Oklahoma.

Crozier was a man all though, thoughtful of his men, full of humour, a good and brave officer, and a very good friend of mine.

The above sketch is as near as I can come to my knowledge of Major L. N. F. Crozier.

(Signed) C. E. DENNY.

SIR:—

Major Crozier was one of the original Officers of the Force who came from Belleville, Ont., and attained rank of Major in the Canadian Militia before joining the Force. He was appointed a Sub-Inspector in 1874 and was with Commissioner French on his march from Dufferin Man., to the far West in 1874, the beginning of the work in the North West.

He remained with Col. J. F. Macleod, then Asst. Commissioner who remained with a portion of the Force in the South West, and established Fort Macleod in the heart of the Black-foot country and the centre of the lawless American Whiskey trade which to a large extent influenced the Canadian Government in organizing the Mounted Police as a Military Constabulary. Crozier served many years in that district, taking over the command when headquarters was removed from Fort Macleod to Fort Walsh and remained there until 1883, when he was transferred to Battleford which then included Prince Albert District. He was the first to feel the unrest among half-breeds which preceded the outbreak of 1885 and it was generally known that he warned the Government of the day that trouble was certain unless efforts were made to conciliate and meet their grievances. The unrest spread to the Indians and occasioned the disturbance at Poundmaker's Reserve in 1884.

When the situation became acute in 1885 Crozier went to Prince Albert, organized a defence force and with this volunteer body and Police marched to Fort Carlton, from this point he marched to Duck Lake, and there encountered the rebels. The result is well known—he was defeated, returned to Carlton, decided to abandon Carlton and go to Prince Albert. During preparations for the march the Fort accidentally took fire and was destroyed.

Shortly after his return to Prince Albert Commissioner Irvine arrived there with a considerable force of Police and took charge.

Major Crozier was then transferred to Regina, was promoted Asst. Commissioner and remained there until 1886 when he resigned. It is alleged that it was because of appointment of Col. Herchmer as Commissioner.

Crozier was regarded as a good Officer, he was generally liked by those serving under him. He was not always diplomatic in his correspondence and was not always regarded favourably by the Department, which does not necessarily mean a reflection on him.

He was strongly criticized for bringing on the action at Duck Lake and precipitating the Rebellion. When he marched out to Carlton he knew that the Commissioner was en route with a fairly strong body of Police. It is alleged that he wanted to quell the incipient revolt before the arrival of his superior Officers. It is doubtful if he thought the halfbreeds would fight. It is likely that he thought they would ask for a parley which he would grant. After talking over their grievances he would be able to persuade them to return to their homes on the promise that their reasonable demands would be met. For 10 years the Police had been dealing with halfbreeds and Indians with perfect success, their relations were friendly and although there had been occasions of anxiety they had always been allayed.

Crozier would therefore with confidence feel that the tried methods of conciliation would succeed. If so, he was rudely shaken by the firing on his little force at Duck Lake. No doubt he was astonished and beat a somewhat hasty retreat. From a military point of view the march and conduct of

the fight were faulty and can only be accounted for by his badly mistaken belief that the halfbreeds and Indians would not proceed to extremes.

When he realized that the situation was serious he was justified in abandoning Carlton and concentrating at Prince Albert, which was the centre of the district and contained all the supplies; and where the Commissioners' forces would most readily join him.

"A FELLOW OFFICER."

SIR:

Major Crozier, one of the favorite officers of the North-West Mounted Police, made his appearance at the old barracks at Fort Macleod in April, 1875. This youthful officer, then only 25 years of age, had passed all examinations at that time, when he graduated from the Royal Military College. Lieut. Crozier was a favorite in a few weeks, and the more the men saw of him the more they liked him. He took up his work as though he liked it, and was always happy when helping some of the boys to study for advancement, or with some of the games. When he went on a ride he was "one of the boys", but was always respected as an officer and loved as a man. He was at the Macleod Barracks for a few years, and proved a good drill instructor, on foot and horseback. When sent on long trips, or to relieve another officer, he was always true. After one-and-a-half years in the force promotion came to him. Major Crozier took command of Fort Walsh, from which point he was moved to other posts, with the same fine results.

In the Riel Rebellion of 1885, he again proved himself, and, when later he went to South Africa, he received under the late Major General Steele promotion that came to few, and was there held in high esteem. On his return he was moved from place to place to fill important posts.

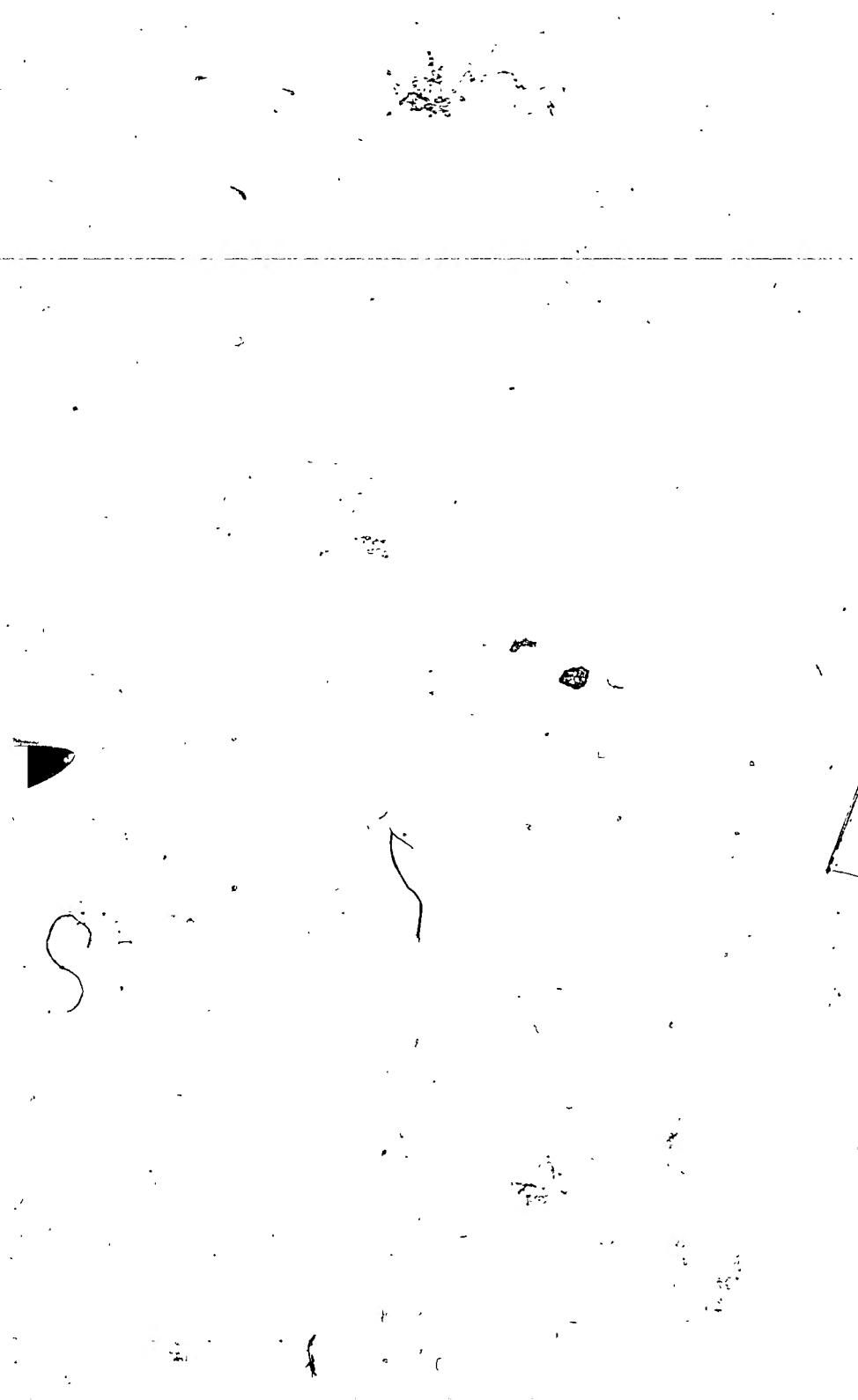
As the younger officers came into the force they were delighted to receive from him ideas which have helped to make better and greater men. These are to-day the seniors

in the great force that opened up Western Canada, and helped to make it a country that is fit for anyone to live in, and especially Alberta, of which Major Crozier was very proud and where he wished to spend his last years, but he was denied this wish. The end of a strenuous but useful life closed, but not until his aim in life had been accomplished—that of being an Instructor and rising to the highest office in the force of which he was very proud—and this North-West Mounted Police force was more than proud of him. A Canadian of whom Canada was proud, and whose name will live in the lives of the Western people.

“Lives of great men, all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.”

A. F. GRADY.

Macleod.



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ITS AIMS:

To collect from the pioneers source history of the North-West prior to 1890.

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To mark historic places and awaken historic interest in these.

To honor the pioneer and create a greater public interest in North-West History.

The publication of the Battleford Historical Papers, which contain the stories of the Old Timers relating to pioneer development: